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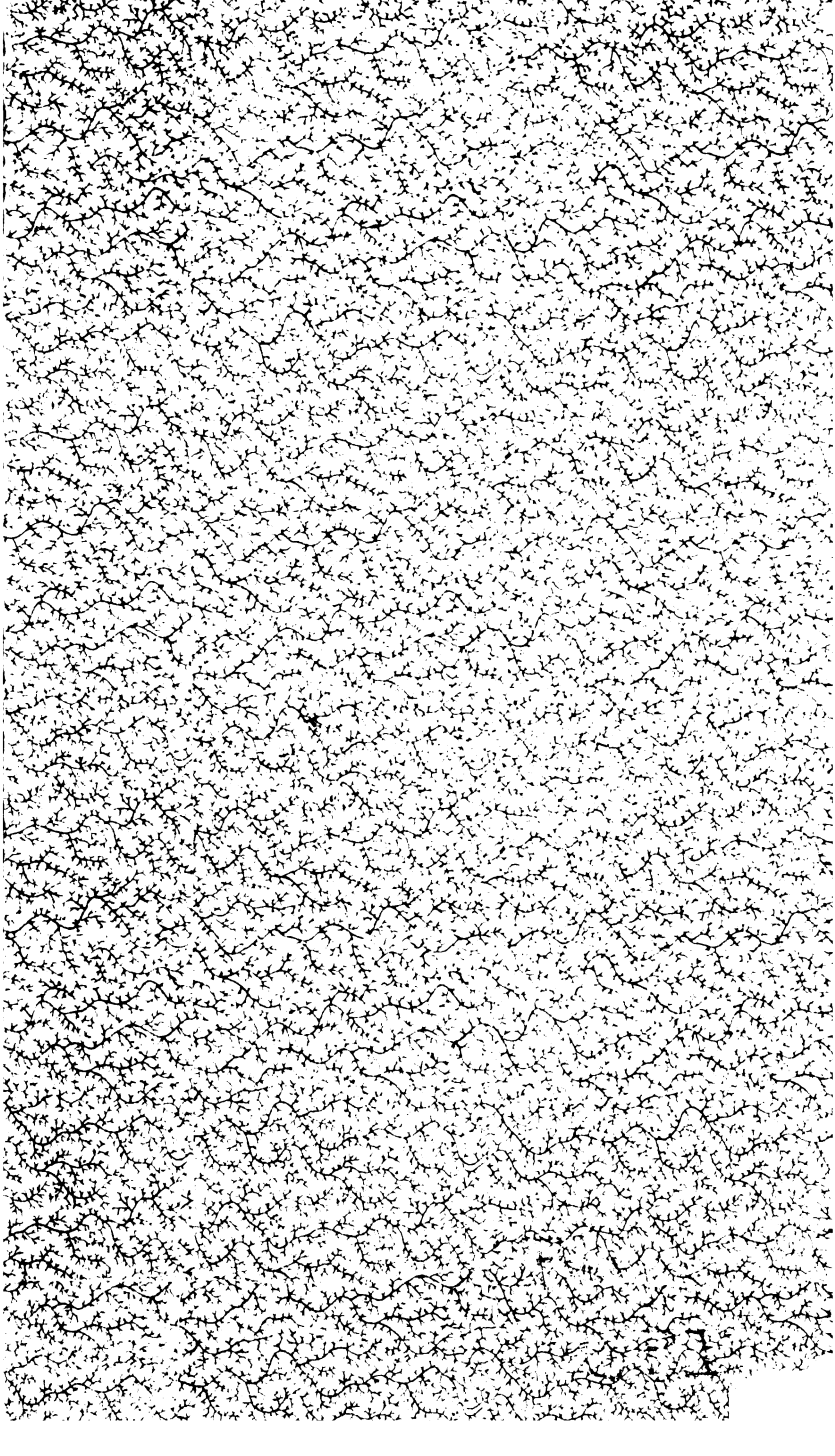

MEMOIRS

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

By MISS BENGER,

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF ANNE BOLEYN,"
"MRS. HAMILTON," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1823.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
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Page 160. *for* page 101. reference to Keith, *read* page 201.
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286. *for* page 329. of Keith, *read* 347.
296. *for* page 253. of Keith, *read* 353.
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327. *for* page 6. of Keith's Preface, *read* 9.
336. *for* page 431. of Keith, *read* 392.
369. *for* page 6. of Keith's Preface, *read* 8.
381. *for* page 39. of Anderson's Collections, vol. iv., *read* page 60. part ii.
389. *Transfer the reference to* Goodall, *to* page 388.
396. *After* Cavendish, *instead of* who traced her descent to the female line of Henry VII. *read*, who, by marriage, was afterwards allied to the royal line of Henry VII.
410. *for* page 369. of Chalmers' Life of Mary, *read* 367.
427. *for* page 92. vol. ii. of Chalmers' Life of Mary, *read* 97.

MEMOIRS

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER I.

JOY OF FRANCIS THE SECOND ON HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN. — UNFORTUNATE EFFECTS OF MARY'S INFLUENCE OVER HIM. — TRAIT OF CATHERINE'S ADDRESS. — INTERVIEW BETWEEN FRANCIS AND MONTMORENCY. — PAINFUL SITUATION OF MARY. — OBJECT OF CATHERINE'S JEALOUSY. — DIMINUTION OF THE COURT. — ITS REMOVAL TO BLOIS. — ALARM FROM THE CONSPIRACY OF JEAN RENAUDIE. — PRECIPITATE RETREAT OF THE KING AND TWO QUEENS TO AMBOISE. — SUSPICION AND DETENTION OF THE PRINCE OF CONDÉ. — ARREST OF CASTELNAU. — HIS NOBLE REPLY TO THE CHANCELLOR OLIVIER. — ANGUISH OF ANNE OF ESTE AT THE EXECUTION OF CASTELNAU. — DEATH OF OLIVIER. — COUNCIL OF FONTAINEBLEAU. — MONTLUC STATES. — NEW INTRIGUES. — CONVOCATION OF THE STATES GENERAL AT ORLEANS. — THE KING'S ILLNESS. — DEATH. — IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES TO MARY STUART.

THE reign of Francis the Second, designated by French historians, *le petit Fran-*

çois, may be characterised as the prelude to that mournful tragedy of St. Bartholomew, which a few years after was presented to Europe. Abstracted from the calamities and crimes which have given to an interval of sixteen months a fearful celebrity, it was not only marked by the sudden developement of principles, the most important to the welfare of mankind, but by a series of events so rapid and extraordinary, as to resemble rather the intricate tissue of fictitious adventures, than the outlines of historical truth. Of this drama, it is a more minute but equally peculiar feature, that superior parts were allotted to inferior actors; and that in an age of talent, of power, and of energy, the supreme authority was consigned to an intriguing prelate, (rather an orator than a statesman;) and a general, who, at a period when royalty was rich in desert, might be more fortunate, but scarcely more brilliant than his princely peers. For this inversion of political as well as poetical

justice, we must refer to the agency of Mary Stuart, at whose solicitation the enamoured Francis delegated to her uncles the command of his sceptre, and by that complaisance entailed calamity on the realm of France and the Queen of Scotland,—the land of his fathers, and the wife of his affections.

By the laws of France, the monarch was preposterously declared major at the age of fourteen: till that period he was committed to the tutelage of his mother; the kingly functions being delegated to a council, over which presided the first prince of the blood, with the name and authority of regent. Unhappily for his country, Francis, who had nearly completed his sixteenth year, was no longer subject to the controul of these natural guardians: nor, however feeble in body and in mind, was he insensible to the gratification of asserting his prerogative in choosing for his ministers the

Duke of Guise and Cardinal Lorrain, who had induced his mother to sanction the appointment.

Although Catherine could not legally claim the custody of the king's person, she was still authorized as the natural guardian of his brothers, now presumptive heirs of the crown, to demand a share in the administration. In a parting interview with his consort, Henry himself had enjoined on her the performance of this parental duty; and it was obvious, that by coalescing with the Bourbons, the first Princes of the Blood, the Constable, and the Chatillons, she might have formed a party sufficiently powerful to compel the Guises to relinquish their exclusive pretensions. On this step, had Catherine been swayed by female antipathies or affections, she would undoubtedly have determined: but, in her mind, ambition absorbed all other passions; and she justly calculated that the Bourbons, as

princes of the blood, would feel less dependent on her collateral support than the Guises, to whom her alliance must be necessary to counteract the prejudices excited by their foreign extraction and apparent usurpation of privileges, which, according to ancient usage, belonged to native princes. Influenced by these considerations, she declared in favour of those she had long execrated as her enemies; and having stipulated for the disgrace of Diana de Poictiers, consented to sanction with her name and presence their audacious usurpation.

It was in the last moments of Henry that these negociations were concluded; but though bred in a court, that monarch did not suspect that his faithful old *compére*, the Constable, had dispatched a courier to Anthony, king of Navarre, conjuring him to hasten to court, and offering to secure to him the exercise of his hereditary rights

in the council. Unfortunately, the indecision of Anthony's temper prevented him, till too late, from listening to those friendly suggestions. Whilst he deliberated, his rivals acted; and ere Henry closed his eyes, every article of the treaty was adjusted: that nothing might arise to disturb the peace so lately re-established with foreign potentates, the marriage of the Duke of Savoy and Madame Margaret was solemnized by torch-light; "not hailed," says Vieilleville, "with hautboys, and songs of nuptial tri-"umph, but accompanied with the sobs "and sighs of the distressed bride and sor-"rowing spectators."

A few hours after this mournful ceremony, Francis, who, during some days had been languishing under indisposition, was roused by the entrance of the Duke de Nemours, the Cardinal Lorrain, and the Duke of Guise, who, on bended knees, saluted him with the title of king. At this

electric sound, the invalid leapt from his couch, and in a transport of rapturous amazement, protested he was well, and ready to adopt their good counsel. The next moment his mother, evidently dejected, entered the apartment, to accompany him from the Tournelles to the Louvre; where he was to receive, according to custom, such addresses and deputations as were offered to the new sovereign. Without hesitation the young monarch obeyed, and walked between the Cardinal and the Duke of Guise. Mary Stuart followed with Catherine, who, for a moment, losing her habitual self-possession, in a sort of reverie, traversing the galleries, took the wrong turning, and had descended one stair before she perceived her mistake: ashamed of her abstraction, she endeavoured to disguise it by a compliment to the young queen; and waiting till she overtook her, she exclaimed, "Pass on, Madam; it is now your part to take

"precedence."* Although this manœuvre deceived not Mary, she accepted the courtesy with seeming gratitude; but, in her turn, insisted that Catherine should enter the chariot first. With the same refined duplicity, Catherine commissioned Mary to demand from the Duchess de Valentinois, certain crown jewels, and on other occasions to assume consequence and authority.† As that princess was at this time notoriously ignorant of state affairs, and from the languor of her health, even unwilling to be burthened with them, it is impossible not to surmise that her interference was exacted by her insidious step-mother. No sooner was the young Queen launched on political life, than she dis-

* This anecdote, originally related in *Mathieu*, is from him mentioned by several writers, and particularly quoted in the *Observations on the Memoirs of Castelnau*, tom. iv., *de la Collection Universelle des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France.*

† "The yonge Queen is a great doer here, and "taketh much upon her."—(All the French historians contradict the assertion.)—*Forbes' State Papers.*

covered, how little the principles of honour, fidelity, and gratitude, were binding on statesmen. In climbing to power, the Guises had been steadily sustained by the friendship of Diana de Poictiers; yet, with the exception of her son-in-law, the Duke de Aumale, they all subscribed, without scruple, to her disgrace. Catherine eagerly seized on her office, and one of her magnificent mansions; but finally, shewed in her reprisals, a moderation creditable to her understanding, and which, in any other individual, might have been attributed to generous sentiments. From the great Constable something better might be expected, and he was protected by pride from the like debasement. Disconcerted by the indifference which Anthony had manifested for his summons, and conscious with what hostility he was regarded by the Guises, the wary courtier remained two days at the Tournelles, watching the corpse of his late master; undecided whether he should at once retire from the field, or

make a last effort to retain his place. After a struggle with himself, ambition triumphed, in the disguise perhaps of patriotism and parental affection; and having assembled his sons and kinsmen, he repaired to the Louvre at the hour when the King dined, and entering by a well-known private door the royal apartment, approached with expressions of homage and loyalty his gracious sovereign. In beholding Francis in that place which he had so often seen filled by the warlike Louis the Twelfth, the brilliant Francis, and the affable Henry, it must have required all the self-possession of the courtly Montmorency to suppress emotions of sorrow, or even of disgust. To the reigning monarch, his feeble limbs and low stature gave an air of insignificance and meanness, which was not ennobled by the consciousness of superior intellect. In his homely features there was nothing to please the eye; and from a nasal obstruction, he could not

speak without offending the ear. From his cradle the victim of disease, he had been intrammelled with nurses and physicians, and by them formed to habits of dull docility and undiscriminating acquiescence, but the name of king seemed to have communicated an electric energy to his dormant faculties, and he already acquired by intuition, that self-command, so requisite to royal pageantry. In his gravity he possessed a substitute for dignity, and by his unsocial reserve he was protected from the commission of any palpable folly or impropriety; far from being awed by the Constable's dignified aspect, he was evidently prepared for his reception, and, after the ordinary compliments, taking the old Montmorency by the hand, led him into his cabinet, followed by the numerous members of his family, whom the Constable formally presented to the new sovereign, beseeching him to take them under his protection.

To this, Francis having promised acquiescence, the old courtier proceeded to speak of his years and services; here the young king very adroitly cut short his professions by observing, that he was very sensible of all that he had performed for his predecessors and the state; that for the future he would relieve his years from this too heavy burthen, but that he assured to him for life the possession of his honours and his pensions, and that a seat in the council should be reserved for him whenever he felt disposed to assist his two uncles and his mother with his wisdom and experience. Surprised and baffled by this unexpected proof of capacity, the courteous Montmorency, disguising his chagrin, with profound reverence thanked his Majesty for having so kindly anticipated the boon he had meant to solicit; but added, that as he gratefully accepted his permission to retire from public life, he must decline that seat in the council which men strong and

active could better fill. That for himself he asked but to dedicate his remaining days to the duties of devotion, of which the first should be to pray for the soul of his late beloved sovereign. With these words he withdrew, execrating the artifices and ambition of his successful rivals, and determined to retire without delay. This magnanimous resolution, though, somewhat shaken by the insinuations of Catherine, was confirmed when he went to the levee; where, to his unutterable astonishment, he found himself in the presence of the foreign ambassadors overlooked and neglected, scarcely noticed by the monarch, slightly saluted by the courtiers. The first glance decided his purpose: he returned to the Tournelles*, to superintend the funeral ar-

* The obsequies of Henry were performed with suitable pomp; whilst the corpse was conveyed from the Tournelles to Notre Dame, the twenty-four criers proclaimed in succession at the corner of every street, "Pray, pray for the soul of the "most Christian King Henry the Second." The

rangements; and this last duty performed, publicly departed from St. Germains for his house at Chantilli, with a retinue, noble and even princely, chiefly composed of noblemen and gentlemen, who, commiserating or resenting his mortification, followed on horseback, whilst the King and Cardinal seemed forgotten.

When the King of Navarre arrived, he perceived that he had missed the critical

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procession to the church was crowded with princes, nobles, and foreign ambassadors, each of whom was paired with a prelate, with whom, according to Throckmorton, he carried on some trifling conversation to beguile the time; so little touched are those who have to sustain a part in the pageant, with the state and solemnity which powerfully affect the spectators. The body was consigned to the antient vaults of St. Denis. Cardinal Lorrain said mass; an oration was also delivered; and finally, the herald stood up, and, after having thrice repeated, "The King is dead," proclaimed as often the king his successor. Then sounded the trumpets to announce the last rite fulfilled; after which the Estates adjourned to the hall to dinner.—*Forbes' State Papers.*

moment, and had no other resource than to propose a convocation of the States General; a suggestion that was afterwards zealously seconded by politicians more cordially interested in its adoption. In the sequel, the recommendation of this measure became so offensive to the ministers that they repelled it by proclamation*, denouncing the penalty of treason

* " Alarmed by the symptoms of popular dis-
" content, in which the Princes of the Blood but
" too justly participated, the Cardinal, instead of
" employing conciliatory measures, adopted those
" no less arbitrary than impolitic; and, without
" deigning to consult Catherine de Medicis, publish-
" ed a manifesto denouncing, as disloyal and seditious
" disturbers of public tranquillity, whoever should
" demand a convocation of the States; and it was
" maintained, that the nomination of a council tended
" to bring contempt on the royal authority, inas-
" much as the King was major by the laws, and
" perfectly competent to govern himself and the
" people; and this edict was not only printed,
" but circulated through France." — *Mémoires de Castelnau.* — Observations appended to the Memoirs of Castelnau, in the *Collection Universelle de Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France.*

on all who should maintain that the King was not major, or that he was incompetent to the legitimate functions of the sovereign. In the same spirit, Cardinal Lorrain having, according to his plans of reform, retrenched the salaries of aged pensioners, veteran or disabled soldiers, to avoid their troublesome and somewhat alarming petitions, caused a gibbet to be erected in the park of Fontainebleau, on which was an inscription menacing with death whoever should approach without licence, the gates of the palace.* Of these

* " Amongst other causes contributing to the insur-
" rection of Amboise, it has been impossible to over-
" look the number of needy malcontents, whom the
" new system of retrenchment had reduced to misery
" and despair. The prodigality of Henry the Second
" having exhausted the finances, the Guises had no
" resource but to dismiss an immense number of
" officers of the household, who were chiefly old sol-
" diers without other means of subsistence; to con-
" tinue their salaries was impossible without the im-
" position of new taxes, a measure which the Cardi-
" nal ventured not to propose, lest he should forfeit

two last measures, the violence exclusively belonged to his own temper; but his brother, the duke, is equally implicated in the affronts and slights offered to the Prince of Condé, who, though he had long resisted the solicitations of his wife and her heroic mother to protect the Calvinists, was now impelled by resentment to espouse their cause, and even to join their communion. The administration of the Guises was marked by such headstrong rashness, such puerile presumption, as might well counte-

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"the affections of the people. In this perplexity he "adopted the expedient already mentioned, of causing "a gibbet to be erected for the intimidation of impor- "tunate suitors. As he had foreseen, the multitude "disappeared; but it was in uttering curses and exe- "crations, which were soon echoed through every "province of the kingdom. With so many combus- "tible materials prepared, it was impossible but that "the flames should soon burst forth."— Observations appended to the Memoirs of Vieilleville. *Collection Universelle des Mémoires Relatives à l'Histoire de France.*

nance the belief that the state was actually governed by a monarch of sixteen. With every quality that belongs to the enterprising general or gallant cavalier, the Duke, as a statesman, was neither enlightened nor sagacious; mistaking obstinacy for firmness, he carried to the council the rules of military despotism, the jealousy of his house, the tenacity of the bigot, ready to sacrifice France or Europe, to the interests of a single party. In the Cardinal, a churchman without religion, morals, or even decorum, the defects of his gallant brother were aggravated by all that belongs to cupidity, violence, and pusillanimity. Unfortunately his faults were relieved by brilliant and versatile talents, which disguised the shallowness of his judgment, the turpitude of his views, the extravagance of his speculations. That the government of such men should have been endured, even with the co-operation of Catherine, would

appear incredible, but for the reflection that the dignified clergy and bigoted papists had an interest in their success, and that they were idolized by the Parisian populace; equally endeared to the alarmists, who deprecated toleration, and to the fanatics, who, without the bribes offered to idolators, were eager to hunt out heretics, and by an exhibition of images to ensnare them to their ruin. Another circumstance, which perhaps operated with the nobles, as a motive of forbearance, if not indulgence, was the alarming indisposition of the young queen, Mary Stuart, on whose personal influence her uncles were supposed to depend for the preservation of their authority. *

* One day the Spanish ambassador mentioned to Throckmorton, that, having been in company with the French King and Queen, the latter looked *very evil*, and was so weak, as even before all who were there, she fell into a swoon, and was in very dangerous case, as she is always after dinner, when she was, with a great ado of aqua vitæ and other things, revived,

The ill health of Mary, so constantly attributed to mental causes, sufficiently proves, that even at this epoch of her greatness, so often referred to in after-life, her position was far from enviable. In assuming the state of a queen of France, she was more than ever subjected to her uncles; who required not merely her unremitted, though unobtrusive services with Francis, but her wary observation of Catherine, to whom, with that jealousy inseparable from the consciousness of usurpation, they incessantly imputed an intention to negotiate with their rivals, and tamper with their adversaries.

In the execution of this delicate task, it was impossible but that Mary should become an object of antipathy to Catherine,

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and retired to her *chamber*. According to this ambassador, the Vicomte de Noailles, anticipating Mary's death, preposterously suggested the expediency of a marriage between Elizabeth and Francis, adding, "But, alas her Majesty is too wise for a child."

who, finding herself thwarted in all her efforts to efface those impressions the young King received from the two brothers, and therefore virtually excluded from participation in the government, ascribed to Mary alone, and her *seducing sweetness*, the opposition to her maternal influence; the more galling to her pride, as she believed that she had herself facilitated to the Guises the acquisition of their unlimited dominion; nor was Catherine slow to perceive, that the young Queen had sufficient penetration to detect clandestine movements; and that she communicated to her uncle whatever she knew or surmised of her political intrigues, a grievance of which she could not complain without inculpating herself, but which she afterwards revenged not only by insinuations (apparently unfounded,) that she had been treated with disrespect, but by every unkindness that malice could suggest. From the communications of Throckmorton

and other contemporary memoirs *, it is evident, that Catherine was treated with every external mark of respect by the Guises, who deprecated her displeasure; by Mary, who sympathised in all their wishes; and Francis, by whom she was both honoured and feared, and for many reasons perhaps little beloved.

Nor was the enmity of Catherine the only penalty with which Mary was visited

* To substantiate these insinuations, we find an anecdote repeated by several French historians, but the single and suspicious authority on which it rests, is that of the Nuncio Prosper, St. Croix, who probably received it from Catherine herself; in his Lettres is the following passage: *La Regina di Scotia un giorno gli disse que non sarebbe mai altro che figlia d'un mercante, et questo si stima que fosse detto à soggezione di Lorreno.* The Queen of Scotland one day said to her, (Catherine), "*That she could* "*never be more than the daughter of a merchant,* and "this remark was believed to have been made at the "suggestion of Lorrain;" but at what period could it have been the policy of the Cardinal or his brother to incense Catherine against their niece or themselves? The story refutes itself.

for her subserviency to the Guises; born to be sacrificed to their sinister schemes of policy, the unresisting victim of their criminal ambition, she had excited, by her rash assumption of the armorial bearings, the eternal jealousy of Elizabeth, who, equally provoked and alarmed by the usurpation, was induced to enter into an intimate correspondence with the chiefs of the reforming party, to whom, from her resentment to Knox, she had originally shewn repugnance. * But the climax of every

* *Throckmorton to Cecil.*

" Whereas I wrote unto you on the behalf of John " Melvin, upon the desire he had to serve the Queen's " Majesty, and to be employed upon the borders. I " do since understand by his letter, that he remains at " London unemployed; he saith, that you have made " an overture of service to him to be done in the inland, " whereunto, albeit he hath, as in other, a good-will " and affection; yet, weighing his elder brother's " case, he may not safely repair, because he is a " Scotchman, and may with less suspicion enter the " border to learn intelligence and to practise than an " Englishman may; and also, for that he doubteth not, " being acquainted both with Mr. Knox and others,

evil was the spirit of disaffection they had excited in Scotland, by the desperate reso-

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" by whom things may be learnt and brought to good
" purpose, it may like you, therefore, his desire con-
" sidered, to do that may serve most for the advance-
" ment of the Queen's service; but albeit I know,
" that there is nothing omitted by you, that may be
" requisite for the practice now in hand northward,
" I cannot, but when things come to my remem-
" brance, which, in my opinion, seem necessary to
" be done, intimate the same unto you. The master of
" Maxwell, who broke out of prison in Edinburgh, is
" a great enemy, as I am credibly informed, to Mon-
" sieur d'Ozell, for some particular and private cause,
" besides his hatred generally to the Frenchmen;
" forasmuch as he is against them, and hath a great
" many of his devotion ready to follow him, it were
" well done, if some means of practice were devised,
" to be administered to him in such sort as shall be
" thought most convenient." — *Haynes' Papers.*

Memorial from the Queen to Sir Nicholas Throck-morton.

" The safe conveying of the Earl of Arran hither
" into this realm of Scotland, seemeth here a thing
" both profitable and needful, the doing of it cannot
" be here prescribed to your discretion, wherein he

lution of reducing the reformers by force; an enterprise, to which, if we may credit contemporary writers, they were not so much prompted by zeal, as by the necessity of finding employment abroad for the discontented soldiers, whom it was unsafe to disband at home. Although no blame can reasonably be imputed to Mary, for a pas-

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" shall deserve great commendation; it must be done " secretly, as well in respect of the Emperor's sub- " jects and friends and the King Catholic, as of the " French; and herein haste, so it be with discretion, " is thought most necessary. The entertainment of " is thought very convenient, and you " may offer to him 500 crowns pension. As for " Florence Diaceto, his entertainment is thought not " so needful as the others; but yet the Queen is con- " tent to accept his service, and will reward it with " some pension; if he mean to go into Germany, for " his own purpose it might, as it is thought, do good " to solicit Sturmius to proceed in procuring a com- " mon league, to be made amongst all Protestant " Princes of their faith. Melvin, the Scotchman, " may be thought of hereafter," &c. &c. — *Haynes' Papers.* Various documents of the same kind might be produced from the state papers.

sive, or perhaps involuntary acquiescence in measures which she could not prevent, she inevitably became an object of suspicion and obloquy to two-thirds of her subjects, who soon repaid with violence and injustice, the lessons they had received from their oppressors.

It is not easy to ascertain how far Mary participated in her uncle's schemes for the subjugation of Scotland; but it is not improbable, considering with what tenacity she upheld the faith of her fathers, that *conscience* sanctified to her eyes, what with him was merely the suggestion of mundane policy. Every circumstance of her situation was calculated to nourish bigotry—her four Maries, the companions of her childhood, were sprung from strict Catholic families. All the members of her household, her tutors, her preceptors, were imbued with the same spirit; the pride of ancestry, the incitements of interest, the dreams of ambition, conspired to heighten

the abhorrence, which, even in infancy, she had imbibed for heretical innovations. Nor is it improbable, but that the idea of being recognized at Rome as the rival or successor of Elizabeth, lent additional energy to these sentiments. Another collateral support to her bigotry, or constancy, might be discovered in the calumnies with which Cardinal Lorrain assailed the reformers; and which attributed, by his misrepresentations, the most offensive indecorums to the female sex. Although the falsehood of these charges was ultimately demonstrated, the impression they had produced was not easily to be effaced. The toleration of Catherine, whether springing from indifference or hypocrisy, must have had an inevitable tendency to confirm her aversion for the reformers, whilst she dwelt with enthusiasm on the heroic constancy with which her cousin Mary of England had adhered to the ancient faith. In any other rank than that of a Queen, little importance

would have been attached to the opinions of a young person, who had scarcely completed her seventeenth year; but such was the position of Mary, that to France, England, and Scotland, she became equally an object of suspicious attention: and Throckmorton, who was in the interest of the Scottish reformers, in his communications to his court, laboured to impress the belief that the *young Queen* sympathized in the persecuting spirit of Cardinal Lorrain, and in his personal hostility to Elizabeth; but with whatever diligence this ambassador might have pursued his enquiries, it was impossible he should have fathomed her real sentiments. At this period her intimacies were confined to her own family; even her favourite, Mademoiselle Mercœur, afterwards Madame de Marliques, had no opportunity to abuse her confidence. Without losing her native affability, she adopted the reserves of Francis; emulated the self-possession

of Catherine, and sympathised in the gentle manners of Anne of Este; but the qualities by which she seemed most distinguished, were gravity and discretion. The susceptibility of her nature, might, perhaps, be detected, in the restless anxieties that consumed her unripened youth. The secret of her ambition escaped in the eagerness with which she grasped a visionary crown; and in the jealousy with which she resented Elizabeth's imaginary invasion of her own sceptre. Nor with less solicitude did she watch the progress of the Earl of Arran's wooing, or speculate on the audacious pretensions of Robert Dudley. Little did she then imagine she was herself so soon to become an object of similar vigilance and suspicion to her royal rival; still less could she have believed, that within a few short years, love should teach her to forget the crown of France; and that, like Angelica fascinated by a comely page, prefer to kings and princes, the smooth-faced Henry Darnley.

According to Throckmorton, the fatal *armorial bearings* afforded a seasonable novelty to the French court, since they were even conspicuous at the sacre of Francis, which, on the 15th of September, was solemnized at Rheims. " At the gate of this " city the King was received by a maid, re- " presenting the town of Rheims, who, after " a few words spoken of submission, deliver- " ed the keys thereof to the King, who gave " the same to the lieutenant, the Duke de " Nevers, to open the gate. There was in " that place very little, or no shew at all, " saving that the arms of England, France, " and Scotland, quartered, were very trimly " set out over the gate; from thence he was " strait conducted to the church of Notre " Dame, and there received by the Cardi- " nals, Lorrain, Givry, Bourbon, and Cha- " tillon, in their pontificalibus, accompanied " with some crosses, and a number of priests " in copes. When the King was once en- " tered into the church, the Cardinal Lorrain

" made an oration to him, which ended,
" the King proceeded towards the choir;
" led on his right side by Cardinal Givry,
" and on the left by Cardinal Chatillon, to
" the high altar, where, after he had knelt
" and prayed, he offered to the altar a
" golden image of St. Francis, and kissed
" the cross; and so went to his palace
" without other ceremony or show at all.
" The same day the young French Queen
" made her entry, and was received at the
" gate with a little oration, and with a
" small train conducted to the palace."

During the remainder of the summer, the royal family were in such perpetual progress, that it should seem to have been the King's only pursuit to establish his rights of occupancy in the various palaces, of which he was nominally the possessor.

These desultory movements were useful in disguising the comparative depopulation of the court, where, owing to the absence, or approaching departure of three princesses,

a mournful blank was perceived in its brilliant circles. With the Duchess of Savoy vanished many men of letters, who had been attracted to it by her patronage and protection. The separation of the Queen of Spain and the Duchess of Lorrain, diffused a gloom, which was deepened by the late political revolutions. With the Constable disappeared his formidable host of retainers; the spirit of party continued to thin the ranks of princes and nobles, accustomed to surround the throne, and, with the exception of the Montpensiers and Roche-suryons, no Bourbon approached the palace: the Admiral Coligny and his sister, Madame de la Roye, were almost the only Calvinists who had sufficient courage and self-possession to enter it with impunity.

In the princes of Lorrain, a sort of pusillanimous suspicion conspired with bigotry and ambition to render them averse to all but their partizans and retainers. From this proscription was, however, ex-

empted a certain class of ancient nobility, who had hitherto preserved a strict neutrality with regard to religious controversy, apparently as little disposed to encourage innovations as to countenance persecutions; too enlightened not to prefer the prosperity of the commonwealth to the interests of the church of Rome, but too cautious, or perhaps pusillanimous, not to shrink from the subversion of the ancient establishment. Of that class an honourable representative might be found in the celebrated Francis Scepeaux, Sieur de Vieilleville*, a veteran, who, like Montmorency, had gathered laurels under three preceding reigns, and by his high birth and eminent services, established indisputable claims to the marshal's staff, which had lately been granted to his deserts. This nobleman combined, in an

* The memoirs of this able politician, composed by his secretary, Carloix, present a rich and interesting picture of France at that period.

equal degree, the rigid discipline and punctilious honour of elder times, with the amenity and versatility of the modern courtier. In the court of Henry he had been the Ulysses, who composed differences, prevented quarrels, obviated difficulties, and smoothed embarrassments. More than once he had rendered to that feeble monarch, the important service of restoring concord among jealous rivals: the luxurious Marechal St. Andre, the great Montmorency, the imperious Diana, had all confessed, by turns, his secret influence. Although Vieilleville never realized the fortune obtained by his more intriguing compeers, his military services procured him the government of Metz, and his approved probity secured to him the esteem and confidence of each contending party: but with whatever address he adapted his manners to the court, in his chateau of Duretal, he preserved the air of a primitive paladin, unit-

ing magnificence and severity, feudal hospitality, and domestic simplicty. His wife lived in retirement, devoted to the education of her children and the superintendance of her numerous household. The eldest daughter married early a young nobleman of Brittany, and exemplified the virtues she had witnessed under the paternal roof; for her younger sister, Jane, by the special favour of Catherine de Medicis, was reserved a more brilliant, though, perhaps, less happy destiny. Educated at court*,

* In the memoirs of Vieilleville, there is an amusing picture of the manners of the young nobility at that period. When the Sieur de Vieilleville became governor of Metz, he contracted an intimacy with the young Count de Saulx, whom he made his Lieutenant, with a promise of future promotion; and, finally, presented to him his second daughter, in a manner that convinced her he was an approved suitor. From that moment the cavalier was allowed to visit her every afternoon in the Queen's apartment. In the meanwhile M. Duilly, heir to the Seneschal of Lorrain, and guardian of the young Duke, affianced to Claude of France, had obtained from Madame de Vieilleville,

with other young girls attached to the Queen's person, she became the bosom

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who was ignorant of her husband's intention, an introduction for his son to her charming daughter. In consequence of this arrangement, the young Duilly having become ostensibly the Count's rival, both cavaliers vied with each other in giving treats and collations, of exquisite fruits to their mistress, whose youthful companions, protected like herself by the presence of an elderly gouvernante, were allowed to participate in these offerings of generous love. The Count de Saulx, who was indefatigable in all the exercises befitting an accomplished cavalier, often won the prize in tilting, and running at the ring, whilst from the ladies he gained still more applause, by introducing a provincial dance, called the Volte de Provence, (obviously identified with the modern waltz,) which, in compliment to him, was called Le Saut de Saulx. Emulous of his fame, M. Duilly, to the Volte de Provence, successfully opposed another dance, the Volte des Brantes de Poitou. For some time it appeared doubtful to which of these lovers Mademoiselle Vieilleville inclined to give the preference, when two of her royal friends, who had an interest in her decision, spared her the embarrassment of making a choice. These young ladies were Mademoiselle de Nemours, engaged to the Duke de Vaudement, and consequently designed to live in

friend of the Princess Claude, afterwards Duchess of Lorrain, at whose solicitation she

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Lorrain, and Madame Claude, contracted to the Duke of Lorrain. The former congratulated Mademoiselle de Vieilleville on her late conquest, predicting, that she was destined, like herself, to spend her days with their beloved princess. The attack of Claude, who, though so shortly to be married, was not thirteen, was, probably, prompted by warmer feelings. Stealing to her favourite's chamber before she was dressed, she began to entreat her not to give to M. de Saulx any promise of marriage, which might be prejudicial to the pretensions of M. de Duilly. Jane de Vieilleville having assured her she was still disengaged, the young princess thus discreetly opened her commission: "You are not ignorant, my dear girl, that my mar- "riage with the Duke of Lorrain is to take place as "soon as arrangements can be made for our return- "ing to Paris. Now, in leaving my dear native coun- "try, I shall feel quite desolate if I do not take with "me some of my chosen companions, who have hi- "therto loved me, that we may live and die together. "In my heart, I have chosen five or six young ladies, "amongst whom you hold the first place; for I love "you dearly; nor does my mother esteem you less, "because, as she observes, you have discretion, a "quality seldom found in your companions, and are "not addicted to coquetry or scandal; and have

rejected a lover who had received her father's approbation to espouse the son of the

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" never sown dissension in families, as is too fre-
" quently done. You know, Vieilleville, to whom I
" allude; and no sooner shall the Easter holidays ex-
" pire, than you will see half-a-dozen of them dis-
" missed in disgrace. Among others, two who have
" been so imprudent as to propagate calumnies against
" a great lord, and a great lady, who is a woman
" of unblemished honour; but you will hear enough
" of this presently. I must now tell you, that the
" arrangements for my household have been made
" these six days; and you will not be sorry to find
" that your name is foremost on the list to be my
" first lady of honour; and I can assure you, the
" Queen, your mistress, not only approves my choice,
" but even dictated it, which, in some degree, vexed
" me, since I would have had you owe it solely to my
" own affection: and now you know why I conjure
" you to give no promise to the Count de Saulx; for,
" be assured, you are destined for another. Indeed,
" if you marry in Provence, adieu to our pretty
" castle in the air; I shall all my life have to deplore
" the overweening love I have cherished for you."

The answer of Mademoiselle Vieilleville was such as may be imagined, implying perfect devotion, gratitude, and attachment. The same morning her father was summoned to a private audience with Henry and

Seneschal of Lorrain, whom she accepted, purposely that she might accompany her

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Catherine, when the former asked, whether he had promised his daughter to M. de Saulx. The wary courtier admitted he had encouraged that young nobleman, but that his word was not pledged. Upon this, Catherine reminded him, that when she received his daughter at her court, she at the same time exacted from him permission to dispose of her as she should think proper; and that, consequently, he had no right to give her in marriage without her approbation. The Marechal not daring to deny the truth, the Queen rejoined, that the person she had chosen to be her husband was M. de Duilly; her daughter Claude having ascertained from Jane's own confession, that he was no less agreeable to her inclinations than his supposed rival. To such a statement M. de Vieilleville had nothing to offer but expressions of gratitude and devotion: the Count was instantly dismissed, not, however, without preferment, which, in the sequel, consoled him for his disappointment. Mademoiselle de Vieilleville was on the same evening affianced to M. Duilly in the King's presence. Whether she really preferred the man she had accepted, appears somewhat doubtful. Her father had not resigned the Count without reluctance; and, perhaps, judged wisely in stipulating that the rejected noble-

young mistress to that country which, to the imagination of a French courtier, assumed the repulsive aspect of a Scythian exile. How far this lady had reason to be satisfied with the step she had taken, must be left to conjecture; but to her mistress, who resembled her father in the best features of his character, was allotted a rare portion of domestic felicity. Without possessing the talents of her sister, or emulating the learning of her aunt, the Duchess of Savoy, she participated in her gentle and disinterested disposition, and emulated her charity and munificence. It was the fate of this princess, like her sister Elizabeth, the Queen of Spain, to sink into an untimely grave; but singularly was she favoured above her surviving relatives of the house of Valois, of whom none ever tasted of tranquillity; whilst

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man should never visit Lorrain, which was in future to be the scene of his daughter's residence.—*Mémoires de François Scepeaux Sieur de Vieilleville, composés par G. Carloix.*

the amiable Claude, united to the object of her affection, by whom her tenderness was fully repaid, during her short but happy life, inspired in her husband's subjects sentiments of filial respect, and at her death bequeathed to them a pleasing example of conjugal harmony and female virtue. The Duke of Lorrain had been educated with Francis, and a cordial friendship subsisted between them. To this princess, Mary appears also to have been attached; and on her departure from the court, the young King and Queen accompanied her almost to Nancy. During two-thirds of the journey, the country through which they passed was embellished with chateaux, parks, and gardens, interspersed with towns and villages; "so that," says Carloix, "*Nancy* seemed but the *suburb* of "Paris." Francis paid a similar attention to his sister, the Queen of Spain. In these excursions, although he approached many

noble castles and magnificent seats, which his father used to visit, he kept an even course, never deviating from his route to visit other mansions than royal palaces, or abbeys depending on Cardinal Lorrain. Under the Guises a new system of manners, as of policy, had been introduced, and already had the vices of the government familiarized crimes formerly abhorrent to the French people. The patronage of delators and spies was followed by perjury, treachery, and assassination — religious feuds dissolved the ties of friendship and consanguinity — with public honour was destroyed private confidence. In the joyless court of Francis, Mary was incessantly harassed with fears for Scotland: to these was soon added domestic inquietude. Within the last six months, Francis had so rapidly increased in size and stature, that he seemed to have sprung at once from childhood to maturity. The

Guises, who had beheld with exultation a developement, which appeared to furnish occular demonstrations of his *majority*, soon observed, with dismay, a total change in his complexion, and various symptoms of decline, for which the perplexed physicians recommended aromatic baths and the milder climate of Blois. To that place he arrived late in December: but in journeying thither, no marks of sympathy or loyalty had awaited him; prejudice and calumny preceded his steps. To whatever village he arrived, the people fled at his approach. A horrible tale had been circulated respecting the nature of his disease, of which it was mysteriously insinuated, that to bathe in the blood of infants could alone minister a cure. Appalled by the suggestion, mothers, with frantic haste, deserted their homes, and, to protect their offspring, took refuge in the neighbouring forests. Touched, even to agony, with these

demonstrations of abhorrence, the young Francis, though soothed with the utmost tenderness by Mary, exclaimed, "What "have I done to be thus shunned and de- "tested? They fly me; my people abhor "me! It is not thus the French used to "receive their King." "Oh! my uncle," he added, addressing the Cardinal, "I "would it were rather you than me that "they hated.*"

Of this problem a solution was soon offered in the famous conspiracy of Amboise, of which the object appears to have been to remove the King from the Cardinal's custody to the Princes of the blood, who were either the protectors of Calvinism or the advocates of toleration. Of this audacious enterprise, the ostensible chief was Jean le Barri, or Renaudie, a man ruined in fortune and reputation. The partial revelation of his plot suggested to the ministers the neces-

* Mathieu, Varillos, Garnier.

sity of an immediate removal from Blois, which was unfortified, to the neighbouring castle of Amboise. But not to spread among the conspirators an alarm that, by arresting their steps, might prevent the complete developement of their intrigues, the migration of the court was effected under the pretence of a frolic after hunting. On reaching the massive gates of the castle, ladies and cavaliers dismounting, gaily ascended the rugged stairs, and ran over the desolate apartments, which were wholly unprepared for their reception. To supply the means of accommodation at once became an exercise and amusement, and ere many hours, the hollow roofs echoed the long-forgotten sounds of mirth, singing and dancing, the viol and the lute, banished care. The company, who no longer found it safe to pursue their recreations beyond the castle, resorted to the gardens; where, to give zest to the hacknied pastime of running at the ring, the combatants appeared in female

the Guises had recalled from his delicious retirement of Lonville, to sanction with his name and authority the offences they committed against reason, justice, and humanity. Catherine herself, awakened to a sense of danger, by the representations of the enlightened Michael de l'Hôpital, from whom the Duchess of Savoy had parted, that he might, if it were possible, avert ruin from his country,—even Catherine, for once suspending selfish calculations, fixed her attention on the state of the people, and having recommended a re-union with the Chatillons, invited Admiral Coligny and his brother to assist at their deliberations. The Chatillons openly denounced the sanguinary system of oppression which had been introduced, and advised the immediate suspension of religious persecution, and the convocation of the States General. With his usual dissimulation, the Cardinal affected to adopt their advice, by issuing an edict for suspending the prosecution of heretics,

whilst he attacked the main support of the Calvinistic party, by persuading the King that the conspiracy of Renaudie was in reality organised by the Prince de Condé.

At this moment, when all was suspicion and distraction at court, the Cardinal, with his wonted address, attempted to conciliate the English ambassador, who had complained of the armament destined for Scotland, and to draw from Elizabeth a promise, to withhold assistance from the lords of the congregation. The account of this conference affords a fair specimen of French and English diplomacy, as exemplified in the grave, but sagacious Nicholas Throckmorton, and the versatile Cardinal, whose brilliant talents were often marred by vanity and presumption. After a dinner, at which the English ambassador had met the Dukes of Guise and Nemours, and many other princes, the Cardinal led him to a private apartment, where, after having solemnly disclaimed all hostile intentions

towards Elizabeth, in the armament prepared against Scotland, he entreated his guest to state to him frankly, on what ground she complained of the French cabinet. In his reply, Throckmorton laid great stress upon the assumption of the armorial bearings. To this the Cardinal adroitly opposed the charge of his mistress having shewn too much countenance to the Scottish rebels. It will be proper to give this answer in his own words, as a curious exposition of his views of legislation, and the imposing frankness with which he affected to explain his conduct.

" Monsieur l'ambassadeur, we have cause to " thank her Majesty that she dealeth thus frankly " with us, to declare unto us her griefs, which we " knew not of before; and for our parts, because " you have declared unto me the grounds of " yours, I will particularly answer to the same; " and first, because you shall the better perceive " my master's meaning for his doings in Scotland: " thus it is:

" About the conclusion of the late peace, the prior " of St. Andrews, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earl

" of Glencairn, with their adherents, of their own au-
" thority, went about to alter religion, of which, being
" advertised by the Queen Regent, commissioners
" were sent to have the matter come to debating
" and deciding, because we were desirous to stay
" the matter without rigour: they not only refused
" to come to reason, but refused to attend to the
" commission, derogating thereby the authority of
" the King and the Queen, for which they de-
" served severe punishment. Notwithstanding the
" King sent pardon unto them, so as they would
" hearken unto reformation, which they regarded
" as much; and at length the King himself wrote
" unto them several letters, sent by La Brosse and
" the Bishop of Amiens, which they utterly re-
" fused to receive, and in the end came so far, that
" they would order things as pleased them, and
" take the authority from the Queen Regent, who
" was by a just parliament so ordained; and by a
" parliament of a few of them, and their accom-
" plices, they seek to order the state themselves;
" whereupon the King was, in the end, constrained
" to use his force against them; moved thereunto
" by example's sake, to his own subjects, for surety
" of the Queen's mother, and honour of the King,
" and maintenance of the Queen in her right;
" and, added he, we have at no time sent provi-
" sion of men, victuals, and ammunition thither,

" but we have caused our ambassadors to inform " the Queen thereof, as loth to cause suspicion, " and yet minding so to chastise her rebels there; " and what have we done herein prejudicial to " the Queen, your mistress? and may we not " chastise our rebels? and will the Queen take " upon her the defence of those whom she knoweth " to be and hath called rebels? for we have letters " with the words she hath spoken to our ambas- " sador, and that she would rather see them perish " than help them." — Throckmorton. " How " they be rebels I know not, and much less that " the Queen, my mistress, hath called them so." — Cardinal. " Yes, that she hath done." — Throckmorton. " This is your case; but as for " our case, we have cause to doubt your great pre- " paration for war, however you colour the same."

The question being waved, Throckmorton continues;

" But as for the matter of Scotland, it is known " that the fourth part of this preparation needeth " not, their case being as it is; for either in grant- " ing their liberties and privileges to the noble- " men all troubles may cease, or else with a small " power they might be brought to order; the " proof whereof appears by the Queen Dowager's " proceedings, in having, with a few, separated " and driven them from Edinburgh."

Here the Cardinal, after having reiterated

the protestation, "that the armament had no "other object than the subjugation of Scot-"land," adds, that "it was chiefly for "the sake of example and the behalf of "religion;" and with an insinuating frankness, acknowledged the errors and abuses which had crept into the church, for which he conceived no other remedy could be found, than the convocation of a general council.

As a proof of his own predilection for tolerant principles, he adds,

"Even three days past, we have published an "edict * to suppress the punishment of men for "religion, and have licensed all men to live ac-"cording to their conscience."—"And of this "purpose," says Throckmorton, "he made such "an oration as it were too long to write, even as "though he had been hired by the Protestants to "defend their cause so earnestly." The Cardinal continued; "And, therefore, seeing we now ac-"cord to the Scots to live according to their con-"science, and they not content therewith, we must "use them as rebels, and send force to chastise "them — to teach them to know their sovereign."

* A proclamation rather, at the suggestion of Coligny, as above mentioned.

Hitherto both parties had but exercised their weapons: the Cardinal now rushed upon the real subject of the conference, by asking abruptly, whether Elizabeth meant to assist the Scots, which, for divers reasons, must be prejudicial to her real interests. Throckmorton parried this attack, by doubting whether any rebellion existed in Scotland. The Cardinal had recourse to flattery, which he lavished on Elizabeth and her ambassador, protesting that he was greatly beloved in France, for his personal qualities. Again, shifting his ground, he exclaimed,

"With regard to the arms which the King and "Queen bear, I marvel that we never heard of it "till now."—Throckmorton. "Whether you "heard of it or not, I know not; at the beginning, "I opened the matter to the Constable, and de- "clared that it was not correspondent with amity; "and what meaneth it that you offer this injury only "to the Queen my mistress, by whose means you "had peace? for, if she had not more regarded "the universal peace of Christendom than her "own private convenience, she might have had

" Calais; and you know that King Philip would " have made no peace without us, for he would " hearken to no conditions till we were satisfied."

This was a home thrust; and Throckmorton quaintly describes the discomfiture of his adversary:

" He put his finger to his nose, and scratched " a little, where I think it did not itch."

The Cardinal recovers the parole by the common manœuvre of throwing the blame on his adversary:

" You complain; but we have most cause to do " so, and the King mindeth to conserve the amity; " and, therefore, I pray you, devise what will sa- " tisfy the Queen, your mistress, and she shall be " contented; and for these injuries that have been " done us, and the taking of our ships, we will " omit them, and forget them: I know, if you will, " you may do all this matter, and, therefore, put " to your helping hand, and I will do the like " for my part."

The conference being closed, Throckmorton was conducted to the royal chamber, where he found the young King surrounded with princes and nobles. Their

interview was brief, for Francis, having few ideas, was discreetly sparing of words.

"I presented him," continues the ambassador, "with your Majesty's letters, which perused, he "enquired, first, how you did, and whether you "loved hawking and hunting? I told him your "Majesty was in good health, and that, albeit, "you loved such pastimes well, yet your High-"ness was not altogether so much addicted to "them as he. He then declared unto me, that "he understood, by his uncle the Cardinal, the "matters I had to say to him."

The ambassador not thinking recapitulation necessary, prepared to take leave, when the King, who found, in the ceremonial of the court, some relief from his own personal insignificance, asked him to see his mother, not mentioning his wife, who evidently held a subordinate rank. Throckmorton was, finally, ushered to the presence of Catherine, on whose right-hand sat the young Queen, attended by her ladies, with no other gentlemen than an old Cardinal, and Admiral Coligny. Throckmorton having presented his letters to both Queens, addressed an elaborate compliment to Ca-

therine, of which Mary, with that address, which is soon acquired in a court, appeared not to hear a syllable.

" The Queen Dowager thanked your Majesty " for your remembrance and good opinion,—the " *reciproque wanted not in her*, as it should be found " when occasion ministered, being sorry that any " cause should arise to the contrary, which she " would, for her part, seek to avoid; that your " Majesty should be satisfied, and that the King, " her son, was your Highness's good brother, " and so would continue, praying me to set to my " helping hand, for she would be glad, and so " would the Queen, her daughter, (and turned to " her, who, thereupon, smiled,) that all things " were amicably composed."

Here Mary rejoined, with a vivacity which not all the ceremonial of the court could wholly suppress,

" Yes, my good sister may be assured to have " a better neighbour of me, being her cousin, than " of the rebels, and so, I pray you, to signify to " her."

In a subsequent interview, Mary dissembled not her displeasure at the belief that the Scottish lords had shewn the English Queen more respect than they yielded

to her, their native sovereign; and it was evident, from her conversation, that she participated in the restless suspicions which invested the court, and formed its atmosphere. Already had Cardinal Lorrain prejudiced the King's mind against the Prince de Condé, who, like Coligny, was invited to the castle as a friend, but, on his arrival, arrested as a prisoner, his papers examined, his servants searched and interrogated, but no evidence could be extracted to substantiate the accusation of his enemies; and such was the frank and fearless intrepidity with which he met the charge, that, finally, when he challenged to single combat any who should impeach his loyalty and honour, the Duke of Guise, who naturally loved the brave, pledged himself to be his second.* But the Cardinal, though baffled

* The following observations, which have been sanctioned by the approbation of a body of enlightened men, comprise, in a few words, all that has been clearly ascertained respecting the conspiracy of Amboise.

"The Catholic writers of the day have very gene-
"rally attempted to inculpate the Prince de Condé

in this instance, discovered another object worthy of his vengeance in the brave Baron

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" and the Colignys; supporting this opinion by the " celebrated consultation of civilians and theolo- " gians, respecting the rights of the people to resist " the usurpers who had abused the youth and credu- " lity of an inexperienced sovereign. Davila assigns " a principal part to the Constable. A modern writer, " Père Daniel, has not scrupled to associate with him " Admiral Coligny; but it is certain no contemporary " writers countenanced the suspicion; neither, if they " did, could vague conjectures be received as ac- " credited evidence. Had Père Daniel referred to " M. de Castelnau and De Thou, he would have dis- " covered that both the Admiral and M. Andelot re- " paired, without hesitation, to Amboise, at the first " summons, and that their unembarrassed manners " bespoke the confidence and boldness of innocence: " if conjecture be once admitted, who shall escape " suspicion? Even Catherine de Medicis has, by " some authors, been implicated in the transaction. " — See *Memoires de Tavannes*. This, at least, is " certain, that the real leader of the enterprise re- " mained behind the scene. With regard to the " Prince de Condé, it will not be found that he is " criminated by any substantial proofs, any credible " testimony. It was very possible for audacious men, " who adopted the sentiments, to inspire the belief " that they spoke by the authority of any public cha-

Castelnau, who having taken arms, avowedly to release the King from the usurpation of the Princes of Lorrain, at the head of three hundred troops, occupied a castle in the vicinity of Amboise.

Alarmed at his approach, the Cardinal desired Marechal de Vieilleville to induce the Baron to repair to Amboise to state his grievances, assuring him of safety, if he came unarmed, and attended but by few companions. Too experienced in courts, to confide in the honor of such employers, the Marechal excused himself on the plea, that to such desperate men he could make no assurances of indemnity that would inspire confidence; but he submitted to the King, whether it would not be proper to devolve the office on a Prince of the Blood, who could alone be considered as a proper

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" racter; the true chief was mute, and invisible." — *Observations* appended to *les Mémoires de François Scepeau, Sieur de Vieilleville, Collection Universelle des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France.*

delegate of the sovereign.* In consequence of this suggestion, the commission was given to the Duke de Nemours, who having pledged to Castelnau the word of a Prince for his safety, that officer, with fifteen of his companions, readily accepted the invitation; but no sooner had they reached the castle, than, instead of being conducted to the King's presence, they were committed to separate cells, examined, and subjected to torture, to extract particular information of the conspiracy. Shocked at this breach of faith, the Duke de Nemours vehemently demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Both Catherine and Mary, the Duchess of Guise, and many great ladies of the court, united in supplications for mercy; to which (by the Cardinal's command) the Chancellor Olivier replied, "That the King kept no faith with "rebels; and, to prevent future importu-

* See Regnier de la Planche. *Les Mémoires de Castelnau.*—Garnier. *Mémoires de François Scepeau, Sieur de Vieilleville*, 3 *tom.*

" nity, punishment was denounced against " all who should appeal in their behalf." *

At his examination, Castelnau, instead of admitting any thing to criminate the Prince de Condé, boldly reclaimed the promise by which he had been betrayed. The judges feeling the force of his arguments, yet sensible that his doom was sealed, shifted their ground by examining him respecting the tenets of his faith; to which, after some hesitation, he replied with characteristic openness and sincerity. The Chancellor Olivier, who had once been in the number of Castelnau's intimate friends, having enquired on what grounds he had changed his religion, the Duke of Guise perceiving that he hesitated, exclaimed, " Speak, speak; you seem dumb with fear."

* According to Vieilleville, the Duke de Nemours was chagrined, because he had given his signature. " As " to his word," says the author, " he valued it little, " since he would have killed on the spot any man " who should have pretended that he had made the " promise; but his signature he could not disown." Such was the honor of the Duke de Nemours!

" Fear!" retorted the Baron, indignantly, " where is the man, however brave, en- " vironed as I am, by mortal enemies, with- " out either nails or claws to protect himself " from their vengeance, where is he who " would not fear? Brave as you are, were " you in my power as I am in yours, and if " I bore to you the malice which you tes- " tify to me, and all the King's good and " loyal subjects, I doubt not, you too would " have some consciousness of danger."

After this, regaining self-possession, he entered on the subject with such animation and energy, that the Chancellor, with much surprise, demanded in what school he had so soon learnt to become a theologian.

" And have you," replied Castlenau, " lost all recollections of the hours I spent " in your house at Leuville, once the sanc- " tuary of honor, learning, and virtue, " which I visited on my return from Flan- " ders; and where, when you enquired " with what studies I had beguiled the pe-

" riod of my captivity, I answered, in read-
" ing the Holy Scriptures. Do you not
" remember how cordially you applauded
" my pursuit; and how, after having heard
" certain doubts which still lingered in my
" mind, you exhorted me to frequent the
" religious assemblies at Paris, and to visit
" the reformed churches in Germany and
" Geneva? Did you not also express a wish,
" that all the French nobility resembled me
" in zeal and sentiment, inasmuch as I had
" chosen the right path? My Lord, is not
" this true?" The Chancellor, casting down his eyes, in silence, Castlenau continued; " How can it be, that the man so eminently
" endowed with talents and virtues, who has
" arrived at the highest honors of his pro-
" fession, to whom the word of truth has
" been revealed, and who now totters on
" the last plank of life; how can it be, that
" such a man, for the sake of a little
" momentary prolongation of power and
" splendour, can stoop to become the slave

" of yon proud Cardinal, at once betraying " his conscience, his King, and his country."

Here the Cardinal, perceiving the Chancellor's embarrassment, resumed the subject, till baffled by Castelnau's unpremeditated eloquence, he bade him reflect, that as his brother was no theologian, it was not right to shock his faith. At these words, the Duke interposed, by saying, " That though he pretended not to be com- " petent to polemical disquisitions, he per- " fectly knew how to strike off heretical " heads." " Would to God," replied Castelnau, " that you were as competent to dis- " cuss this subject as your brother, since I " feel assured you would not, like him, do " violence to your conscience. As to " the menace of striking off a head, I hold " it to be unworthy of a Prince."

It is not improbable, but that the superiority which Castelnau had displayed in argument with Cardinal Lorrain, accelerated his fate. On the day appointed for his

execution, he approached, without emotion, the scaffold which had been erected in front of a gallery, prepared for the ladies, to whom, in the absence of other amusements, the exhibition of dying criminals had been rendered an interesting spectacle. In a court where humanity was identified with sedition, and honor stigmatized as rebellion, even the tenderness of the female sex was sacrificed to a fanatical loyalty; and to have declined witnessing the death of a conspirator, would have been construed into a tacit approbation of the conspiracy. It was impossible, at this moment, to contemplate, without regret, Castelnau, an officer of approved valour, whose life had been often hazarded for his country; but stronger emotions were excited, when he he raised to heaven the hands that had been stained with the blood of his companions, and invoked vengeance on the authors of that treachery to which he had been sacrificed. At that instant a shriek was heard

in the gallery, from whence Anne of Este, pale and trembling, rushing forth, retired to her chamber; where, being followed by Catherine, who coolly enquired the cause of her affliction, she exclaimed, "Have I not "cause to weep? and shall not the "blood that has been shed this day be "required of me and my children?" Nor was this princess the only individual touched by the catastrophe; the Prince de Condé, who had been cruelly dragged to the spot, was observed to shudder, and by that involuntary movement of humanity furnished new grounds for suspicion: but the person most affected by the tragedy was the Chancellor Olivier, who loving Castlenau and abhorring the severity of which he was compelled to be the minister, in a sort of lethargic melancholy, took to his bed, from which he never rose; and in his dying moments uttered the delirious exclamation, of "Accursed Cardinal! thou

" dost prepare perdition for all!" * It would have been pleasing to discover that Mary Stuart evinced such sensibilities as did honor to Anne of Este; and assuredly, in after life, she appeared not wanting in tenderness, but at this period the sympathies of her nature were checked by the constraint of her situation; nor should it be forgotten that her mind was corroded by cares in which no other woman participated. By a singular coincidence, the commotions of Scotland were simultaneous with those of France; and during the three succeeding months, the insurrections in Provence and Normandy, seemed to correspond with the assembling of the congregational forces, the siege of Leith, the deposition of the queen mother from the Regency, (an event she survived but few weeks,) and the famous convention by whose authority the mass was finally abo-

* *Mémoires de Vieilleville, tom. 3. Observations sur les Mémoires de Castelnau.*

lished, and the worship of Calvin established in its place. On receiving the intelligence of her mother's dissolution, the young queen might have said with Macbeth, '*she should have died hereafter.*' The multiplied distractions of the state, interdicted the indulgence of private sorrows; distrust and terror pervaded the court; perplexity and danger environed the throne; and, instead of weeping in her chamber, Mary had to attend her consort to the great national council holden at Fontainebleau, that celebrated assembly which concentrated the royalty, the talents, the patriotism of France, where Coligny presented the petition subscribed by 50,000 Hugonots*, for liberty of conscience, where two bishops† advocated the cause of toleration,

* The Calvinists were first called Hugonots, in allusion to a pretended ghost which was believed to haunt an old turret, called Hugo's Tower; and thus became the popular bugbear, with which mothers frightened their children.—LABOUREUR. — GARNIER.

† These were Monluc, Bishop of Valence, and Niavillac, brother to the advocate of Anne Du Burg.

and more extraordinary still, Cardinal Lorrain coalesced with Michael l'Hôpital, in voting for the states-general.

What impression these representations might have produced on Francis or Mary, must be left to conjecture; but it is probable that the prejudices which the young monarch had imbibed against the Prince de Condé and the King of Navarre, extended to the whole Calvinistic party, and that in suffering its ostensible chiefs, the King of Navarre, and the Prince de Condé, to be inveigled to the states-general, he was merely defending his crown and his life against the machinations of his enemies. With these sentiments, having deposited his brothers and sister in the Castle of Vincennes, he departed from St. Germains to Orleans, which he entered with military pomp, avowedly to assume the command of his army, accompanied by Mary and Catherine, and whilst the mother fortified his courage, the wife betrayed no feminine timidity. The arrival of the King of

Navarre and his brother, was the signal for the triumph of their kinsmen. Like Castlenau, they had confided in promises of safety, and like him, the prince was arrested as a state prisoner, on the charge of treason.

It appears incredible that any government, in a nation comparatively civilized and enlightened, should have ventured on an act of perfidy worthy of an Algerine Corsair; but the pretended interests of religion sanctified the measure to one party, the safety of the state excused it to another; and the presence of veteran troops invested its authors with impunity. Of the actors in this drama, the king only was sincere; and it was with the conviction of his kinsman's treason, that he turned sternly from the Princess de Condé, who had thrown herself at his feet to implore mercy, exclaiming, "He aimed at my life, he sought my "crown." From that moment the fate of Louis Bourbon seemed inevitable. No one presumed to speak in his favour;

even the wary Marechal Vieilleville excited suspicion, by expressing his wonder, that the prince, if he was conscious of guilt, should so readily surrender himself to the power of justice, and perceiving his error, advised the cardinal to commit the prince to the Bastille, disclaimed with indignation any intention of visiting him, and protested that, if he were really criminal, he should vote for his death, even though he had been his own brother.

At this crisis, when his friends yielded to the most gloomy presages, the Prince displayed the magnanimity of a real hero. During the painful interval of suspense, which intervened from the commencement of the king's illness, when he expected to be sacrificed to the malice or pusillanimity of his enemies, no agitation could be detected in his looks or accents*: he preserved,

* According to Regnier de la Planche, Du Thou, and other historians, the Duke and Cardinal would have persuaded Catherine to extort from the States General, an order for his execution, previous to

unaltered, the serenity and gaiety of his temper, and, as usual, exerting his various powers of pleasing, continued to laugh, to sing, to rally, with his attendants. In this manner, he was engaged at chess, when his valet de chambre, in cautious language, intimated that the danger was over, since the king had breathed his last. Such a communication might have disturbed even stoical self-possession; but the volatile, impetuous Louis Bourbon, received it without changing countenance, and having made another move, won the game.

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her son's death; and that she was diverted from it by the Chancellor Michael L'Hôpital. In the meanwhile, the King of Navarre, who, though not formally arrested, was detained and suspected, was summoned to a private audience by Catherine, who stipulated with him for the surrender of his rights to supremacy in the council of regency, and on that condition indemnified his brother's safety. A reconciliation was then effected between the Guises and the King of Navarre. The Prince de Condé was, with reason, disgusted with his brother's complaisance.

It was on the 11th of November, that Francis, in assisting at vespers, fainted, and was conveyed to his chamber. During his illness, which lasted seventeen days, the Guises devised a scheme for silently eradicating heresy, more likely to prove successful, than the armies they had collected, the Inquisition they meant to re-establish, or even the sanguinary punishments they were about to enforce. This was no other than simply to require from every individual attached to the service of the queen, the king, the princes, the nobles, and the gentry, a formal subscription to the Catholic faith. Already had many thousand signatures been affixed to this schedule, when the attention of the court was arrested by the stroke which consigned the young monarch to an untimely grave. Various and most dissonant were the emotions created by this event, in the inmates of the same mansion: to the King of Navarre it brought redemption from ruin; to the Prince de Condé it

announced restoration to his wife, his children, his country; to Catherine, who by secret stipulation had secured to herself unlimited supremacy, it gave the dominion, for which she had long panted in vain; to Cardinal Lorrain it announced disgrace; from the Duke of Guise it took not enough of power to revive in him the native generosity of his character; to Montmorency it recalled dreams of ambition nearly abandoned; to the enlightened mind of Michael L'Hôpital it suggested the possibility of procuring salvation for France. In Andelot and Coligny, and a small band of virtuous patriots, it inspired hopes, it held forth promises of political regeneration, never to be realized;—to Mary Stuart, alone, the blow was irreparable and fatal. At an earlier period, the dissolution of her union had been comparatively a blessing; but now, that by the mal-administration of the Guises, the ancient altars of Scotland were for ever overthrown, and a powerful party

formed against the native sovereign; now, that the perfidy of her kinsmen had destroyed the confidence, and alienated the affections of two-thirds of her subjects; now that she had been raised too high, not to have attracted enemies, and was sunk too low, not to lose friends; at this awful crisis, what remained for Mary Stuart, a daughter of Guise, a widowed queen, a devoted Papist, but peril, privation, calamity, or perhaps destruction.

CHAP. II.

REMOVAL OF MARY FROM COURT, TO ORLEANS. — HER RESIDENCE AT RHEIMS. — HER VISIT TO LORRAIN. — PERPLEXITY OF THE REFORMING PARTY IN SCOTLAND. — MARY'S INTERVIEW WITH LORD JAMES. — APPEARS AT THE SACRE OF CHARLES THE NINTH, AT RHEIMS. — RETURNS TO PARIS. — HOMAGE OF THE PRINCES AND COURTIERS. — CONVERSATIONS WITH THROGMORTON. — HER FAREWELL TO FRANCE. — DEPARTURE FROM ST. GERMAINS TO CALAIS. — EMBARKATION. — HER DESPONDENCE DURING THE VOYAGE.

It is well known, that there is no stage of human life where the scene changes so rapidly as in a court. In a few hours, the death of Francis seemed forgotten. To his tutors was left the care of his interment, whilst his mother, with ardor, devoted herself to the more imposing duties of administration. The Duke of Guise, and King of Navarre had alike submitted to her

sway, whilst the Cardinal withdrew to his archiepiscopal palace, at Rheims, under the pretence of attending to his religious vocation. Mary's natural impulse was to abandon the palace in which Catherine lived and reigned. But she too well understood what was due to herself not to retire with dignity; and without betraying the consciousness of humiliation, prudently removed to a château, near Orleans, avowedly to indulge in privacy her unregarded sorrows.* But here she was not long suffered to remain. A visit from Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador, escaped not Catherine's vigilance, and with quick-sighted jealousy, she ascribed to it an embryo treaty of marriage between the Queen of Scots and Don Carlos of Spain. Alarmed at the suggestion, she signified to the Duke of Guise her pleasure, that their niece should remove to a greater distance.

* Melvil. — *Observations sur les Mémoires de Castelnau*, Vol. XLI. *De la Collection Universelle de Mémoires relatives à l'Histoire de France.*

Humility was a hard lesson to Mary; but her education had now recommenced, and for the first time she began to see men and things as they really were. Whether Catherine's impatience to be relieved from her presence originated in motives of policy, or personal antipathy, must be left to conjecture. But as she seldom allowed herself to be influenced by passion, it is more probable, that her rigour was but a precaution to prevent the Princes of Lorrain from forming in the person of their widowed niece such an alliance as, in the critical state of parties in France, might enable them to regain their former preponderance in the cabinet. By whatever motives she was actuated, her will was now omnipotent; and even the high-spirited Duke employed his influence with Mary, to induce her, for Catherine's satisfaction, to depart for Rheims, from whence his brother was hereafter to accompany her to Joinville, to pay a farewell-visit to his

mother, the Duchess Dowager of Guise. After which, he suggested the propriety of her departure for Scotland, where her presence was required. From this proposal, Mary recoiled at first, with involuntary horror; nor was it likely, that by visiting her mother's tomb *, she could learn to vanquish her repugnance.

The fate of that meritorious, though misguided princess, Mary of Guise, was universally attributed to the chagrin she had suffered in Scotland; and if such a woman, in the full maturity of her powers, and confessedly distinguished by consummate prudence, had failed in the attempt to maintain regular government, how little was it to be expected, that Mary, yet in the spring of youth, without experience or judgment, should prove successful in the unequal conflict. To this objection, it was answered by her advisers, that her mother's misfor-

* Mary of Guise was interred in the royal abbey at Rheims.

tunes had originated in the abortive effort to resist the establishment of the Reformation; that this point being relinquished, the Queen of Scots, her daughter, would be cordially welcomed to the throne of her ancestors; and having secured the affections of her subjects, might gradually reclaim them to the Holy See; nor did the Cardinal forget to urge the facilities which the vicinity of England would afford her, in promoting her speculations on the sceptre of Elizabeth. The last argument was perhaps the most powerful; but though pride, ambition, and reason conspired to force Mary from France, they could not reconcile her to the hard necessity which decreed her banishment. Yet, slighted as she had already been by the court, it was soothing to her wounded heart, to receive both from Catholics and Protestants a cordial invitation to return to her native country. In reality, the young king's death had been scarcely more critical to France than to

Scotland, where the reformers * began seriously to entertain designs of withdrawing that allegiance, which rendered them dependent on a foreign government. In contemplating the late changes in Scotland, nothing excited so much astonishment as the unexampled, and almost incredible facility, with which, after having deposed the Regent, a few Protestant lords and citizens had proceeded in convention to abolish the mass, and to denounce the penalty of banishment or death on all who should persist in publicly exhibiting the antient forms of worship. From this circumstance it would, however, be rash to infer, that the spirit of Catholicism was subdued, or that the conformity of worship, which those enterprizing leaders had imposed, resulted from general assent and simultaneous agreement. It is even doubtful how far the Protestants were numerically superior to their adversaries; in

* See Keith and Cecil's correspondence with Maitland, in *Haynes and Forbes' State Papers.*

talents, energy, and intelligence, there was no parity between them. It should also be observed, that the ministers of religion were also the leaders of popular insurrection, and that the state of society, in which the people had suddenly passed from the lethargy of superstition to the delirium of fanatical excitement, was peculiarly calculated to accelerate a revolution in the opinions, the feelings, and even the habits of the community. Above all, the oppression of the Guises, the horror and detestation excited by the persecution, of which France and Spain presented so many awful examples, had inspired an energy, an omnipotence of will, that almost assumed the character of preternatural inspiration. But such an exaltation of feeling could not be permanent; and whenever its effervescence subsided, a reaction was to be expected from the oppressed party. It was notorious that many of the nobles adhered to the antient faith, and that in various parts of

the kingdom, more particularly towards the north, were to be found its disguised partizans, who deplored the humiliation of their church, and watched for a propitious moment to raise it from the dust. The true position of the two parties, after the death of Francis, is ably stated in a letter from William Maitland, of Lethington, a man of exquisite talents and address, who had originally been secretary to the Queen Regent, but in the late commotions seceded to the Congregation, to which he was now firmly attached; and to whose ostensible chief, the Queen's brother, commonly called the Lord James, or the Prior of St. Andrews, he appeared to be entirely devoted.

A Letter from the Laird of Lethington to Sir William Cecil.

" Sir,

" That thus long I have delayed to write unto " your honour, I pray, impute it only to my ab- " sence: I have been these forty days in the north " parts of Scotland with my Lord James, where

" we have not been altogether unoccupied; but so " far as occasion would serve, advancing the reli- " gion and common cause. Since our returning, " I have understood the stay of Monsieur d'Osel, " and judge that you have wisely foreseen the in- " conveniences that might have followed upon his " coming hither. I do also allow your opinion " anent the Queen our sovereign's journey to- " wards Scotland; whose coming hither, if she be " enemy to the religion, and so affected towards " that realm, as she yet appeareth, shall not fail " to raise wonderful tragedies. Although the re- " ligion here hath in *outward appearance* the upper " hand, and *few or none there be that openly dare* " *profess the contrary, yet know we the hollow hearts* " *of a great number, who would be glad to see it and* " *us overthrown; and if time served, would join* " *with her authority to that effect:* but I foresee, " that the difficulty thereof shall make that which " is most principal in intention be last in execu- " tion. Sure I am, the suppressing of religion is " chiefly meant, but the same must be pressed but " by indirect means. First of all, the comfort " which we have of the Queen's majesty's* friend-

* Elizabeth, — a correspondence with whose ministers had commenced during the commotions in Scotland, and was regularly continued till her death.

" ship must be cut off by dissolution of the intelli-
" gence begun of late; which being not feasible
" in her absence, her own presence will make
" more easy. The Papists, you know, be in their
" hearts, for religion's sake, altogether enemies to
" this conjunction. Those that gave themselves
" forth for Protestants be not all alike earnestly
" bent to maintain it. Some have been accus-
" tomed so to feed upon the French fare, that
" their delicate stomachs cannot well digest any
" other. Some be so covetous, that wheresoever
" the lure of commodity is showed unto them,
" thither will they fly. Some so inconstant, that
" they may be easily carried away by the counte-
" nance of their princess's presence, sometimes
" showing them a good visage, and sometimes,
" as occasion shall require, frowning on them.
" Others there be so careless and ignorant, that
" they will rather respect their present ease, which
" shall bring after it most grievous calamities, than
" with the hazard of a little present incommodity
" put them and theirs in full security afterwards:
" these to be a great number, in our late danger,
" we had large experience; yet I doubt not, but
" the best sort will constantly and stoutly bear out
" that which they have begun. Marry, what dif-
" ficulty and hazard shall be in it, you may judge,
" when the Queen shall so easily win to her party

" the whole Papists, and so many Protestants as
" be either addicted to the French faction*, cove-
" tous, inconstant, uneasy, ignorant, or careless.
" So long as her Highness is absent, in this case
" there is no peril; but you may judge what the
" presence of a prince, being craftily counselled,
" is able to bring to pass. Every man once in a
" year hath to do with his prince's benevolence:
" if at that time, when his particular business oc-
" curreth, her countenance shall be but strange to
" him in sight of the peril, in what case shall the
" subject then be? Every man hath in his pri-
" vate causes some enemy or unfriend: what bold-
" ness shall they not take, seeing an advantage,
" and knowing their adversary to be out of the
" prince's good grace? She will not be served
" with those that bear any good will to England.
" Some quarrel shall be picked to them, not di-
" rectly for religion at the first; but where the
" accusation of heresy would be odious, men must
" be charged with treason. The like of this in that
" realm, I think, hath been seen in Queen Mary's
" days; a few number thus disgraced, dispatched,
" or dispersed, the rest will be an easy prey, and
" then may the butchery of Bonner plainly be-

* The French and English factions still distracted Scotland.

" gin. I make not this discourse as our meaning " to debar her Majesty from her kingdom, or that " we would wish she should never come home, " (for that were the part of an unnatural subject,) " but rather desiring such things as be *necessary* " *so to be provided for in the mean time*, that " neither she by following the wicked advice of " God's enemies, to lose the hearts of her subjects, " neither yet so many as tender the glory of God " and liberties of their native country to be the " sons of death. The best is, that intelligence be- " gun betwixt these two kingdoms may endure " and be increased, the breach whereof I know " will be attempted by all means possible.

" The great desire I have of the continuance, " maketh me so earnest to wish that her majesty " may be induced by good means to enter in the " same conjunction; whereunto if she cannot by " one way or other be persuaded, then can I not " but doubt of the success in the end. Although " I do chiefly respect the common cause and " public estate, yet doth my own private not a " little move me to be careful in this behalf. In " what case I stand you will easily judge by sight " of the inclosed, which I pray you return to me " with speed.* I know by my very friends in

* In the margin is added, I pray you that the letter inclosed come not to light.

" France that she hath conceived such an opinion
" of my affection towards England, that it killeth
" all the means I can have to enter in any favour.
" But if it might be compassed that the Queen's
" Majesty and her highness, might be as dear
" friends as they be tender cousins, then were I
" able enough to have as good part in her good
" grace, as any other of my quality in Scotland.
" If this cannot be brought to pass, then I see
" well, at length it will be hard for me to dwell
" in Rome, and strive with the pope. I assure
" you this whole realm is in a miserable case.
" If the Queen our Sovereign come shortly home,
" the dangers be evident and many; and if she
" shall not come, it is not without great peril;
" yea, what is not to be feared in a realm lacking
" lawful government? It is now more than two
" years past that we have lived in a manner with-
" out any regiment; which when I consider
" sometimes with myself, I marvel from whence
" doth proceed the quietness which we presently
" enjoy, the like whereof I think, all circumstances
" being weighed, was never seen in any realm.
" It would seem impossible that any people could
" so long be contained in order, without fear of
" punishment and strict execution of the laws;
" and, indeed, I cannot by searching, find out
" any probable reason, but only that it has

" pleased the goodness of God to give this glory
" to his truth preached among us; but by all
" worldly judgment, the policy cannot thus long
" endure; so that for this respect her absence to
" us is most pernicious. Thus, whether she
" come or not, we be in a great strait. But you
" will say, hath not the council the regiment?
" yes, some in appearance, but none in very deed;
" and that which is, doth in a manner serve only
" for a shadow to so many as do willingly obey:
" but to know what authority it hath, you must
" reduce to your remembrance the treaty made
" at Edinburgh, wherein for the government of
" the realm was accorded an article, That the
" estates in parliament should nominate twenty-
" four persons of the most capable of the whole
" realm, of whom the Queen should choose eight,
" and the estates thereafter six; which fourteen
" so chosen should be the council. According
" whereunto the estates in the next parliament
" thereafter nominated twenty-four, whose names
" were sent to the Queen; but neither would her
" Majesty, being required, ratify that treaty, con-
" firm our proceedings in that parliament, nor
" allow the nomination of the said twenty-four,
" but hath always deferred, and thus long fed us
" with hope of her own coming. It is true that
" some of the persons nominated have taken upon

" them the management of things since that time,
" to do the best they might. You may reply,
" why? Doth not the whole regiment appertain to
" the nobility in absence of your Sovereign? yes:
" but how willingly, think you, will some of the
" noblemen obey, which think themselves nothing
" inferior to the others? and yet, being Papists,
" or otherwise unapt for counsel, were neglected
" by the estates in the nomination, and now are
" stirred up privily, and comforted by the Queen
" to disallow our proceedings: and if the council
" should take the way which is most meet for
" maintenance of their own state and forthsetting
" of their authority, then fear I that eschewing
" Scylla, they should fall into Charybdis. Many
" things are requisite to bear out a public autho-
" rity, which cannot be done without public
" charges; and we dare not once touch any part
" of the Prince's revenues: the noblemen's estates
" be scarce sufficient to maintain their own part,
" specially absent from their houses. I believe it
" would be hard for a number of noblemen in
" England to continue always at London upon
" their own charges, where they could have
" nothing but bought for ready money. Thus,
" if they meddle with no part of the Prince's
" rents, the public charges cannot be borne; and
" if they should but meddle with so much as is

" necessary, thereupon shall the Queen take oc-
" casion to accuse us to all princes as usurpers of
" the patrimony of her crown; so must we either
" incur in this accusation, or else suffer the whole
" policy to be dissolved for lack of regiment. I
" pray you, by your next letters, let me in this
" point hear your advice, and what the Queen's
" Majesty will think in it; for if her Highness
" allow our doings, we will the less care what
" other foreign princes think of us. For my
" opinion anent the continuance of amity betwixt
" these two realms, there is no danger of breach
" so long as the Queen is absent; and if all men
" were so persuaded as I am, or did consider the
" consequence which I foresee, little peril would
" be after her coming; but her presence may alter
" many things. I trust so many as have made
" promise to the Queen's Majesty, shall sooner
" be driven from your friendship by force, than
" they will forsake it by their good wills. I will
" always at my uttermost study that no seed of
" division take root betwixt the Duke of Chastel-
" herault and my Lord James, on whose concord
" the weal of our cause doth depend. It will serve
" as well to confirm them in the Queen's Ma-
" jesty's devotion, as also to encourage them to
" go constantly and stoutly forward, if they shall
" understand from her Highness, that so long as

" they will continue friends to England, her Ma-
" jesty will not forsake them, but will succour
" and aid them, if necessity require it, in case
" the Queen, at her coming home, either mean to
" alter the state of religion, or yet begin to perse-
" cute such as have advanced the common cause.
" For renewing of a league, this I have thought,
" it would more irritate and offend the Queen our
" Sovereign Lady, and she will worse take it, as
" meant particularly against herself, if we now,
" being delivered from present par of strangers,
" should enter in anew, than when the King her
" husband was alive, and them that be faint-hearted
" amongst ourselves will not easily be persuaded;
" therefore, methinks it were convenient, if it
" could be compassed, that a league were de-
" vised betwixt the Queen's Majesty, the Princes
" Protestant of Germany, so many of France as
" profess the religion, the Kings of Denmark and
" Sweden, at least so many as would embrace it
" for maintenance of religion, in which league we
" also would desire to be comprehended, which
" cause, as it is most plausible to the world, so
" will it at first be best allowed. To the end the
" estates may be shortly assembled for answering
" of the Queen's letter, which Mr. Randolph hath
" for them, we have framed a letter for their con-
" vocation, whereof I rend you herewith a copy,

" pretending only the Queen's coming; for if the " most part knew it were for any matter concerning " England, they would absent themselves. It will " breed some jealousy to the Queen, if we, after " our assembling, send any of our nation to the " Queen's Majesty; and yet it is most necessary " that the present estate of this realm, and the " apparent of the future, be imparted to her Ma- " jesty; for which purpose I have thought, if you " should allow of it convenient, that Mr. Randolph " shall come, by whose report you will be more " amply informed, than you can by writing; and " we shall more particularly understand the " Queen's intention, and your opinion on every " behalf. Let me by your next understand what you " think thereof. In times coming, when it shall " happen the Queen's Majesty to write to the " Duke's Grace, it shall be well done, that either " her Majesty, or you by her commandment, write " somewhat to my Lord of Arran, his son, to fur- " ther the matter. So I wish your honour fare- " well." *

From the contents of this letter, it is evident that nothing could have been so ac-

* Appendix in Keith, page 92. From an original in the Cotton Library.

ceptable to the Protestant chiefs, as that Mary should continue to reside in France, devolving the Regency on one of their party. This hope being dissipated by the annunciation of her intended return to Scotland, they naturally became desirous to win her confidence; and, for that purpose, wisely delegated to the prior of St. Andrews, the duty of offering her their loyal service. No person could have been found more competent to the task: with abilities, rather solid than brilliant, the Lord James at the age of thirty had acquired the reputation of a consummate statesman. Originally destined for the church, he had been endowed with the richest abbey in Scotland, and continued to appropriate to himself its revenues; but his enterprising character was ill suited to an ecclesiastical vocation, and he had, during the subsequent struggles of religion, embraced the principles, and upheld the cause, of the Reformers.

Of that vigorous conduct, by which he provoked the enmity of the French faction, but attracted the favour of Elizabeth, and, what was more, secured Cecil's friendship, various opinions were pronounced; and he was alternately extolled as a patriot, or condemned as a disloyal incendiary. To reconcile these discrepancies of sentiment, it will, perhaps, be sufficient to conclude, that his actions were uniformly regulated by certain prudential principles of calculation, and that, though not generous enough to sacrifice himself to his country, he identified his interests with those of the party which he had taken under his protection. His private character was unsullied by the vices common to his age and station: his revenues, instead of being wasted on profligate pleasures, were employed in maintaining a little host of pensioners and retainers, always subservient to his will, and ever ready to increase his power and popularity. Although, in early youth, he had visited

France as a student, he retained a certain native plainness of language and manners, which sometimes serves the statesman more effectually than the fair professions of the courtier. It was during her progress from Rheims to Nancy, that Mary met him, and though she had just received a communication from the Catholics, to caution her against his promises or professions, she not only determined to adopt his counsels, but was evidently disposed to commit herself to his guidance. Disgusted with the artifices of the French court, she found in his bluntness something to inspire confidence; and with that facility, which often betrayed her into danger, admitted the belief that she had found in him not merely an able adviser, but an affectionate brother. On his part, it was impossible but that he should have been gratified by his reception, till, on taking leave, he asked for the earldom of Murray, which the Queen declined promising until she should return to Scotland;

this refusal, probably, excited in his mind, some distrust of her sincerity, since, on his return, he visited Elizabeth, with whom he is supposed to have entered into engagements, incompatible with the loyalty he had lately pledged to his own sovereign.*

On parting from her brother, Mary was seduced to momentary forgetfulness of political cares, by the honours with which she was received at Nancy, into which she made a public entry, conducted by the young Duke, and his mother the Duchess Dowager Christina; at the palace, she was greeted by her sister-in-law, the amiable Claude, who consoled herself for her re-

* According to Camden, and other historians, he suggested to Elizabeth the scheme of intercepting his sister on her passage to Scotland. To this obliquity, if true, he might have been tempted by the hope of securing to his party the protection of that Queen, and also to satisfy the ministers of the Evangile, who, previously to his departure, required he should extort from Mary the renunciation of *the idol;* to which, he replied, "I will condition all I can; but I may not pre-"vent her hearing mass in her own chamber."

moval to a country in which some vestiges of barbarism were still visible, by drawing around her a circle of fair companions, whose elegance and beauty recalled the image of her father's court, and almost created another Fontainebleau. As, at this period, neither her consort nor herself were sufficiently mature to be emancipated from tutelage, the Duchess Dowager and the Duke de Vaudemont, maintained precedency in the council, leaving to the youthful pair the more amiable sovereignty of pleasure. Day after day they issued edicts for amusement, in which hunting and hawking, music and dancing, masquing, enacting plays, succeeded with a rapidity that scarcely allowed time to repair the waste of nature. * The tumultuous gaiety of this scene could have been little congenial to the state of Mary's feelings, and she was soon compelled, by an at-

* See Conæus in Jebb. — Lesley in Jebb.

tack of ague, a malady, at that time, equally prevalent in France and Germany, to exchange the brilliant spectacles of Nancy for the more salubrious, though unattractive, residence of Joinville. This town, situated on the river Marne, formed the capital of a petty district, which, in 1530, had been created into a principality, in favour of the house of Guise; its chief ornament was the antient chateau, in the chapel of which Antoinetta of Bourbon had raised a superb monument, wrought of porphyry and jasper, which was dedicated to the memory of her departed lord. In that venerable mansion, an interval of ten years had produced no perceptible change; it still preserved the same solemn aspect which pervaded it during the last visit of Mary of Guise. Proud to display and to perpetuate the emblems of her grief, Antoinetta suffered not the black hangings to be removed from the wall, nor was her own sable veil discarded; the austere gravity of the aged

Princess, and the profound reverence she received from her attendants, gave to every object the character of funeral pageantry; no gaieties were here exhibited. Absorbed in religious zeal, this Princess, even in lavishing kindness on her granddaughter, cordially approved of her departure, believing, that by her presence, she might reclaim her subjects from rebellious heresy. Such sanctified demeanour was rather calculated to inspire reverence than love, and Mary was, perhaps, not unwilling to quit the almost sacred retreat for the more congenial hospitality of her aunt Rénée, in whose luxurious apartments was seen no conventual austerity, and who lavished on her niece attentions, that in part consoled her for the mortification of assisting at the sacrè of Charles the Ninth, which was performed on the 25th of June. At that solemnity appeared Mary, in all the state and pomp of widowed royalty; but distinguished by the white mourning allotted

to youthful dowagers; her dark brown tresses were concealed under a long crape veil, which floated loosely on her shoulders, and, according to Brantome, was not so delicate as the tint of her colourless cheeks.

In this first re-union with the court, Mary was received, by the nobility, with profound respect, and by Catharine with affected caresses; but in the younger princes and nobility she inspired such lively emotions of interest and admiration, as revived the Queen Mother's jealousy, and redoubled the impatience with which she anticipated her departure. It was impossible not to perceive that Mary's charms were heightened, and that, abstracted from Guisian intrigue, she must possess a personal influence truly formidable. Exonerated from the etiquette, which, whilst Francis lived, opposed a barrier to the approaches of the other sex, it was no longer forbidden to avow for her, sentiments warmer than loyalty, and even to address her in

language more impassioned than admiration. The charms of her conversation, her graceful address, her captivating accomplishments, had raised the *woman* above the *Queen;* and, to complete those powers of fascination, Mary, herself, was become susceptible of feelings to which she had hitherto, probably, remained a stranger. A sudden reverse of fortune, by discovering the hollowness of the practised courtier, taught her to discern and to appreciate those proofs of disinterested regard which she had lately experienced. Naturally disposed to munificence, she found, to her surprise, she was become tributary to kindness and sympathy, which it was not unpleasing to repay with gratitude and confidence; even the sense of obligation awakened emotions of tenderness more pleasing than painful. The latent capacities of her heart and understanding were now unfolded, and the bitterness of humiliation softened by the consciousness of possessing, in herself, a power of dis-

pensing happiness, independent of her royal sceptre.

From Rheims, Mary proceeded to Paris; into which she made a public entry, far different from that which she had once anticipated, but more flattering to female sensibility than any formal homage that could have been rendered to the crowned consort of the Sovereign. With the exception of the young Monarch, all the Princes of the Blood, with a brilliant company of cavaliers, met her at the gates of St. Denis, and followed in her train to the Louvre. The next day, she was conducted to St. Germains, where she soon observed, that a complete change had taken place in the language of the court; which now, in compliment to the King of Navarre, affected unbounded liberality for the Hugonots. Catharine herself, though not daring to forsake the mass, or positively to attend a Calvinistic conventicle, permitted a sort of religious assembly in her apartment,

where polemical discussion took place of sentimental trifling, and the Bishop of Valence was allowed to preach a sermon; in which, to the horror of Chantonnay, the Spanish ambassador, he omitted any invocation of the Saints or the Virgin. Neither the Duke of Guise nor his niece chose to be present at these discourses; and the old Constable Montmorency was so much offended by the deviations from established usage, that he was once tempted to throw the preacher from the window. It had been prudent in Mary so far to surmount her prejudices as to be one of the Bishop's auditors; but, in this instance, her resolution was immutable; her sincerity inspired respect, and in a conversation with Throckmorton, she frankly declared, that as she had been bred a Catholic, she hoped to die in that communion.

"To be plain with you," said she, "the religion which I profess I take to be the most acceptable to God; and, indeed,

neither do I know, or desire to know, any other. Constancy becometh all people well, and none better than Princes, and such as have rule over realms, and specially in matters of religion. I have been brought up in this religion, and who might credit me in any thing, if I should shew myself light in this case? and though I be young, and not well learned, yet have I heard this matter oft disputed by mine uncle, my Lord Cardinal, and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion."

After this protestation, she conceded to Throckmorton that many abuses had crept into the church, which called for reform; but added,

"I am none of those that will change my religion every year; and, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and, I trust, they should have no support to constrain me."

But if Mary declined polemical contro-

versy, she resumed her classical pursuits, which had lately been suspended, and devoted two or three hours of every morning to the perusal of a Latin author, with the learned Buchanan. At her leisure, she was encircled by Ronsard and du Bellay, and other fashionable bards, who cultivated her fine taste, and stimulated her to the exercise of a native talent for metrical composition; and, according to Brantome, she often produced extempore poems, illustrating some idea happily struck out in conversation.

Mary sometimes wrote poems of a higher cast, which breathed of taste and feeling, and were even tinctured with a certain classical elegance, rarely exemplified in any contemporary female productions; to this class belongs the well-known poem composed on the death of Francis, *En mon triste et doux chant.** If Mary drew attention as a poet, as a minstrel she was captivating; her voice was melodious, and she never appeared to more

* Translated by Whitaker.

advantage than when she touched the lute, with a hand, which, if her admirers may be credited*, presented a model to the sculptor; the susceptibility of her character imparted a touching expression to her countenance, which would have excited interest without that symmetry of feature and form, by which she is allowed to have been distinguished: added to these powerful attractions, the pity inspired by her sorrows, the vicissitudes of her romantic fortune, the difficulties of her situation, the perilous prospects before her, all conspired to engage sympathy, to kindle enthusiasm. The nobility crowded round her; and parties were formed, and spectacles presented†, of which she appeared to be the only object. Among the young cavaliers, were some in whom this homage even assumed the character of serious passion. The most ardent of her admirers was the Duke de Damville, the second son of the

* Varillas. — Brantome. — Mezerai.

† Lesley in Jebb.

Constable Montmorency. Intoxicated with juvenile enthusiasm, or rather, perhaps, with those ebullitions of vanity for which it is not unfrequently mistaken, Damville* hovered round the queen, nor allowed a day to pass without seeing her; but, however he might be flattered by her smiles†, he

* Du Thou.

† It has been pretended, that Mary sympathized in his feelings, and that she protested she would have espoused him had he been at liberty; but this anecdote, for which there is no respectable testimony, has, perhaps, no better foundation than some complimentary remark, which policy, rather than affection, might have dictated. With regard to Damville's passion, it appears not to have troubled his tranquillity, nor to have prevented his pursuing other conquests. This nobleman was equally an unfaithful husband, and a fickle lover. On the death of Antoinetta de la Marck his wife, he espoused Louisa Budos, the most beautiful woman in Dauphiny, but whose charms corrected not his inconstancy. After her demise, he became passionately attached to her aunt Laurentia, with whom he contracted marriage, without waiting for a Papal dispensation; an irregularity, on which, when he was tired of his wife, he grounded his hopes of annulling the engagement. Disappointed in this ex-

must have been mortified to discover how little he had the power to dispel the melancholy and abstraction which, in the most brilliant scenes, often clouded her countenance; when, forgetting all but her own sad thoughts, she unconsciously gave utterance to the bitter regrets, or "fatal presenti-" ments that oppressed her heart, and tears " trickling down her cheecks, shuddered at " the picture that fancy created."* The Duke d'Aumale, and Great Prior, by whom she was really beloved, urged her to remain in France; and there were moments when Mary recoiled with indescribable horror, from the idea of living in Scotland,—where her religion was insulted, and her sex contemned; where her mother had languished in misery, and her father

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pectation, he revenged himself on his virtuous consort by shutting her up in a chateau, from which she was not liberated till after his death, in 1581. — LABOUREUR.

* Brantome.

sunk into an untimely grave. But from these impressions she was recalled by pride, dignity, ambition, the persuasions of the Duke of Guise, and the exhortations of Cardinal Lorrain; who, hopeless of rendering her marriage a profitable speculation whilst she remained in France, became importunate for her return to Scotland, and, to accelerate her departure, obtained from Catharine a loan, which was highly acceptable. The next preliminary was to obtain from Elizabeth a safe conduct; which that Queen, in the presence of the Spanish ambassador, refused, alleging that Mary had never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh.* On receiving this communication, the keen sensibility of Mary's temper burst forth; and in an interview with Throckmorton, after having been careful to dismiss her attendants, (a delicacy omitted by Elizabeth,) she thus gave vent to her feelings:

"There is nothing," she continued,

* Cabala.

" that doth more grieve me than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen, your mistress, that favour which I had no need to ask;—I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or licence; for, though the late King, your master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me, and catch me, when I came hither, yet, know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely; and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends.* Truly," said she, " I was far from evil meaning to the Queen, your mistress, at this time to employ her amity to stand me instead than all the friends I have; and yet, you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to

* Cabala.

employ both their forces and aid. You have often told me, that the amity between the Queen, your mistress, and me, were very necessary and profitable to us both. I have some reason, now, to think that the Queen, your mistress, is not of that mind; for, I am sure, if she were, she would not have received me thus unkindly. It seems," added she, reproachfully, "she makes more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than of me their Sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nearest kinswoman, and her next neighbour. The Queen, your mistress, doth say that I am young, and lack experience; but I have age enough, and experience, to use myself towards my friends and kinsfolk uprightly; and, I trust, my discretion shall not fail me, that my passions shall move me to use other language than it becomes me to a Queen, and kinswoman."

After this burst of feeling, she excused

herself from ratifying the treaty till she should be able to consult with her parliament; that when she assumed the arms of of England, she acted in obedience to the late King, her husband; and that she wished for nothing so much as to live in amity with the Queen of England. Artificial, as was this pretext, it appeared not unplausible; and might, perhaps, have satisfied Elizabeth, but for the suspicion industriously excited, that Mary tampered with her Catholic subjects.

In a subsequent conversation with Throgmorton, Mary again forgetting, or rather, perhaps, not having yet learnt the politician, from a sudden impulse of the heart, thus expressed her secret forebodings:

"If my preparations were not so far advanced, perhaps the unkindness of your mistress might stay my passage; but now I am resolved, I trust the winds shall prove favourable; but even if I should be carried into her kingdom, she may do with

me according to her pleasure; and if my life be the sacrifice, it shall, perhaps, for me, be the happier fate."

In this short speech, we discover that mixture of melancholy, and dignity, of womanly softness, and youthful desperation, that pervaded her character. Her feelings were afterwards embodied in the elegant little song* of "*Adieu, plaisant pays de*

* For the following elegant paraphrase of *Adieu, plaisant pays de France,* the author must again acknowledge her obligations to the young female friend before mentioned.

Adieu, plaisant pays de France.

Farewell to thee, thou pleasant shore,
The lov'd, the cherish'd home to me
Of infant joy — a dream that's o'er; —
Farewell! dear France, farewell to thee.

The sail that wafts me, bears away
From thee but half my soul alone;
Its fellow half will fondly stay,
And back to thee has faithful flown.

I trust it to thy gentle care;
For all that here remains with me
Lives but to think of all that's *there,*
To love, and to remember thee.

"*France*," deservedly admired by Ronsard, and every reader of taste, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

On the eve of their eternal separation, Catharine's hostility to her daughter-in-law seemed subdued; she lavished on her courteous attentions, attended her the first stage of her journey from Paris to St. Germain,—where, thirteen years before, she had welcomed the infant Queen of Scots to France and where now, with a profusion of tears, she bade the widowed Queen of France adieu! Anne of Este gave a more unequivocal proof of attachment, by accompanying her niece to the coast, as did the Duke and his five brothers; and so numerous were the noble dames and cavaliers, who followed in her train, that this mournful pilgrimage wore the appearance of a bridal triumph. At Calais, Mary lingered six days only; but the solemn farewell was at length pronounced,—the last glance exchanged with the friends so dearly loved.

" Habitually superstitious, in embarking
" for the royal galley, Mary was appalled
" by the mournful spectacle of a vessel
" striking against the pier, and sinking to
" rise no more; overwhelmed with the
" sight, the unhappy Queen exclaimed,
" ' O God! what fatal omen is this for a
" voyage!' then rushing towards the stern,
" she knelt down, and covering her face,
" sobbed aloud, " Farewell! France, fare-
" well! I shall never, never see thee more!"
" Repeatedly she raised her eyes to steal
" another, and another glance of that shore
" she had for ever left, and often sobbed
" aloud, ' Adieu! France, adieu!'* In
" this attitude she remained, till the ap-
" proach of night compelled her to change
" her station; when she exclaimed, with
" impassioned emotion, " The hour is then
" arrived, when I must lose sight of thee,
" thou dearest country; a dark veil conceals
" thee from my eyes. Adieu, then, most

* Brantome.

" beloved land, adieu!" With these words, she quitted her seat, but could not be persuaded to leave the deck; and at the dawn of day, again caught a glimpse of Calais, with such renewed anguish, as even to express a frantic hope, that the appearance of an English fleet might suspend her voyage: but, at this moment, the breeze freshened, the sails were unfurled,—within an hour, every vestige of France had vanished from her exploring eyes; of the pomps and gaieties, in which she had borne so large a part, nothing remained but a vexatious, troubled dream. The voyage was not unprosperous; and in after-life, she, perhaps, recollected, with peculiar tenderness, that brief interval of ten days, during which, she was still permitted to enjoy, within that narrow space, the courtesies, the blandishments, the sympathies of a French circle; when, for the last time, she found herself surrounded with friends and kinsmen, to whom, as a Queen, and a

woman, she was equally endeared; who held sacred her faith, participated in her tastes, sympathized in her weaknesses, and spontaneously echoed her sentiments. Soothed by their attentions, her grief subsided into a tender melancholy, never wholly unaccompanied by feelings of complacency; and on being shewn certain perilous shoals, which the vessel had escaped, she observed, "that for the sake of her friends, "and for the common weal of Scotland, "she ought to rejoice; but that for herself, "she should have esteemed it a privilege "so to end her course."*

* Brantome.

CHAPTER III.

KNOX. — HIS INFLUENCE. — HIS PREJUDICES AGAINST MARY. — HIS DESCRIPTION OF HER RECEPTION. — SKETCHES OF HER MINISTERS. — THE LORD JAMES MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON. — THE EARL OF MORTON. — THE EARL OF HUNTLY. — THE ENGLISH RESIDENT RANDOLPH. — ESTABLISHMENT OF MARY'S HOUSEHOLD. — HER MUNIFICENCE. — EXTRACTS FROM RANDOLPH'S LETTERS COMMUNICATING VARIOUS SKETCHES OF HER COURT.

WHILST Mary unwillingly approached her native country, there was one individual, by whom her arrival was deprecated as the precursor of peril, crimes, and calamities. This was no other than Knox, the formidable champion of the Reformation, whose "*single voice could put more life* into a "host, than *six hundred blustering* trum-"pets" — the man whom no bribes could

* Randolph in Keith.

tempt, no penalties intimidate, no trials overcome; who scorned alike the smiles or frowns of princes; equally insensible to the privations of poverty, the allurements of fortune, or the witcheries of beauty. From the memorable hour in which Knox had embraced a spiritual vocation in the Castle of St. Andrews, he had consecrated life and all its faculties to the accomplishment of one object, the abolition of the *mass* and of *Papistry* in Scotland.

For this enterprize he was eminently fitted by a rare combination of physical and moral qualities; born to command, he possessed not merely the physical courage or moral energy common to all brave and resolute men: with stoical inflexibility he united intense zeal and almost delirious enthusiasm; yet paradoxically discovered a keen insight into human nature, and a felicitous talent of directing human passions. But his real strength resided in a certain directness of purpose, an inflexible determination of will,

aided by the popular persuasion, in which he fully participated, that he acted and even spoke from the impulse of divine inspiration.

With no higher title than that of Minister of the Evangile, Knox exercised over the congregations of Scotland a more than papal supremacy. He spoke as a prophet, and as a prophet was heard with reverence: his denunciations were received as predictions, his solemn words treasured in remembrance as the oracles of Providence. Yet, though deeply tinctured with fanaticism, he was, in reality, an admirable judge of human character, as appears from his having chosen the Prior of St. Andrews, a man eminently prudent and persevering, to be the chief of the Reforming Party; on him he had cast his sacred mantle, and imparted with it a large portion of his own personal influence. It has been even suspected that he wished to transfer to him the kingly power, but of this we have no proof. Still less that he

himself aspired to the sceptre of Scotland. It was as an apostle, or rather as a prophet, that Knox challenged homage. In his own conceptions he was alternately the Elijah rebuking Ahab — the Jeremiah denouncing Israel — the John the Baptist, who could overawe even the presumptuous Herod. Woe to the man who incurred his wrath, or fell under his chastisement! Unhappy they who became the object of his antipathy or suspicion! In this predicament was Mary Stuart! Whatever prejudice he had originally conceived against a daughter of Guise, was confirmed, and justified, by the administration of her uncles. Educated under their auspices, imbued with their principles, he regarded her as infected with their cruelty and perfidy — as a Papist, incapable of any moral virtue — as an idolater worse than an infidel. If she would subdue his prejudice, she must disclaim her superstitions, renounce the Mass, forsake the idol — on no other condition could he be persuaded that

she was entitled to esteem and confidence. It is notorious that Knox had hoped, through the agency of Murray, to impose those articles on Mary previous to her return to Scotland. But Murray temporized, and Mary was to be allowed the exercise of her own worship, in a private chapel: the religion of the country to continue as established by the Convention of Edinburgh.

With these concessions Knox was not to be satisfied: he foresaw the consequences that must result from the influence of the Sovereign: he anticipated apostacy and perversion in lukewarm and mercenary men; and solemnly pledged himself, by whatever means he possessed, to resist that idolatrous Sovereign, whom he gratuitously invested with all the vices and corruptions incident to Papistry.

For this purpose he began to administer antidotes to the poison which Mary was to distil with her honied words, by launching invectives against the Idol, and exciting

hatred of its priests. To a certain point he succeeded. The people execrated the priests, but certain old and hereditary associations resisted his insinuations against the Sovereign: the image of royalty, gracefully realised in a young and beautiful woman, the last scion of Bruce, the descendant of a hundred kings, awakened sentiments of pride and attachment; during her voyage, fervent were the prayers breathed for her safety, and on her arrival, according to the confession of Knox himself, unbounded was the enthusiasm with which her presence was hailed by her native country.

"On the 19th day of August, 1561, betwixt seven and eight hours before noon, arrived Mary, Queen of Scotland (then widow) in two gallies out of France. In her company, besides her gentlewomen, called the Maries, were her uncles, the Duke d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, the Marquis d'Elbœuf; there accompanied her also, d'Amville, son to the Constable of France,

with other gentlemen of inferior condition, besides servants and officers. The very face of the heavens at the time of her arrival did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her: to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heavens, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue; for, besides the surface wet, and the corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark that scarce could any man espy another the length of two pair of butts. The sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after. That fore-warning, gave God to us—but, alas! the most part were blind.

"At the sound of the cannon which the gallies shot, happy was he or she that first must have the presence of the Queen. The Protestants were not the slowest, and therein they were not to be blamed. Because the Palace of Holyrood-House was not tho-

roughly put in order, for her coming was more sudden than many looked for, she remained in Leith till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt Leith and the Abbey, met her the Rebels and crafts of men of whom we spoke of before, to wit, those that had violated the the acts of the magistrates, and had besieged the provost. But because she was sufficiently instructed that all they did was done in spite of their religion, they were easily pardoned. Fires of joy were set forth at night, and a company of most honest men with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber window; the melody, as she alledged, liked her well, and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence.* The Lords repaired to her from all quarters, and so was nothing under-

* Brantome very pathetically laments the annoyance which the Queen suffered from this *vile music*, which robbed her of repose.

stood but mirth and quietness, till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August, when that preparation began to be made for that idol the mass, to be said in the Chapel; which perceived, the most of all the godly began to speak openly: "Shall that Idol be suffer-"ed again to take place within this realm? "It shall not." The Lord Lindsay (then but Master) with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close or yard, "The idolatrous priests shall die the death, "according to God's law." One that carried in the candle was evil afraid. But then began flesh and blood to show itself. There durst no Papist, neither yet any that came out of France whisper, but the Lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the Chapel door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scottish men to enter into the mass. But it was and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept, that none should have entry to trouble the priest, who after the

mass was ended, was committed to the protection of the Lord John of Coldingham and Lord Robert of ———, who then were both Protestants, and had communicated at the table of the Lord; betwixt them both the priest was conveyed to his chamber."

The prevention of outrage seems to have been deplored by the Preacher, when he adds—

"And so the godly departed with grief of heart, and in the afternoon repaired to the Abbey in great companies, and gave plain significations that they could not abide that the land, which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again, and so began complaint upon complaint. The old duntebors and others, that had long served in the Court, and hoped to have no remission of sins but by virtue of the mass, cried, they would away to France without delay—they could not live without the mass; the same affirmed the Queen's uncle: and, would to God,

that altogether, with the mass, they had taken good night of the realm for ever."

By a remarkable coincidence, Mary landed almost on the anniversary of that day on which she had heard in the great Council of Fontainebleau, the toleration of the Calvinists so ably defended by Admiral Coligny; she was now in a country where the same arguments might be applied to the Catholics, who were here denied that liberty of worship which had in France been withheld from the Sectaries. This reflection, which might have led to the conclusion, that there was more apparent than real disparity in the civilization of France and Scotland, was little consolatory to a youthful Sovereign, who had hitherto been accustomed to associate the name of heresy with the crimes of treason and rebellion; still less to a woman, possessing all the susceptibility of her sex, who had hitherto been taught to believe that she inspired only sentiments of affection, but who was now, for

the first time, regarded with distrust or aversion. To conciliate her subjects, she had exchanged the white crape garb, which at the French Court procured her the appellation of the "Reine Blanche," for a sable suit, which gave to her aspect a more sedate and matronly character; even Knox confesses that, "under the widow's weeds "she could counterfeit to perfection." These were, however, not unfavourable to the display of her beauty, which excited general admiration. Her manners were still more captivating: whether she rode or danced, or walked, spoke or remained in silence, the same grace pervaded her looks, her language, and her movements.

Among the nobility by whom she was welcomed, Mary cordially recognized as her nearest relatives, the illegitimate offspring of James the Fifth. Exclusive of the Lord James, whose mother, the high-spirited daughter of the Earl of Mar, had become the wife of Sir Robert Douglas

of Lochleven, James left two sons and one daughter by different mistresses; in common with their brother, the Lord John of Coldingham, and the Lord Robert of Strathdon, had both been trained to the church and enriched with its patrimony, although they had since seceded to the reformers;—they were both of ordinary talents, addicted to pleasure, and willing by flattery to purchase preferment. To their sister, Jean, married to the Earl of Argyle, Mary became tenderly attached, and often sought to mitigate the hardships she experienced from a brutal and imperious husband.

From her other relatives Mary derived little comfort. The Earl of Lennox and his family still remained in exile; the Duke of Chatelherault was declining into dotage, and since the death of his brother, the Abbot of Pasley, no Hamilton had arisen to sustain the dignity of his house.

The Earl of Arran, so long an object of suspicion to Mary and her uncles in France,

here equally inspired her aversion. In his childhood, it will be recollected, this nobleman was formally contracted to the Queen of Scots. After his return from France, he had wooed, in a singular style, Queen Elizabeth *, by whom his suit was civilly declined.

He now resumed his original claim on Mary, who repulsed him with more disdain than she ever shewed for any other lover. In the Lord James alone did she discover a kinsman worthy to afford her counsel or protection, and to him she willingly surren-

* The following curious specimen of courtship is extracted from the State Papers:

Earl of Arran to Secretary Cecil.

"These things when I call to remembrance, who can say but God has framed her, Elizabeth, in the shape of a woman, to excel any of her progenitors, and that he of his infinite wisdom will show what he is able to work to the manifestation of his glory, in such a *vessel* and *kind* as hath from the first been reputed fullest of imperfections, compared unto man."

Haynes's State Papers.

dered the care of the state, and the superintendence of her own conduct.

As a statesman unrivalled by his compatriots he had long formed a rallying point with all men of talents and distinction attached to his party; of these, the first was Secretary Maitland of Lethington, a man of brilliant parts, who united much political sagacity and discernment with those elegant attainments and polished manners which the Prior disdained to cultivate; after these came the Earl of Morton, the retainer and partizan of Lord James, who, if he possessed not the exquisite talents of Maitland, supplied its place by the vigour of a self-cultivated mind, whose versatile powers had been exercised in adversity and enriched by practical experience. This nobleman was the nephew of that Earl of Angus, whom James the Fifth had banished from Scotland during the minority of Mary; the Douglasses, who had been attached to the English interest, were recalled

and again expelled; and, during his exile, the present Earl, who had no higher title than a Douglas, lived in England in such obscurity, that he was glad to accept the occupation of Grieve*, to relieve the pressure of indigence.

On returning to his native country, he applied the knowledge thus painfully acquired to the improvement of his own patrimony; his situation became prosperous, and uniting latitude of morals with the utmost strictness of sectarian principles, he managed, without abandoning his pleasures, to become the disciple of Knox, and the bosom friend of the Lord James. Among other noblemen of minor importance devoted to the Reformation, was the Earl Marischal, of unblemished reputation; the Lord Ochiltree, who worshipped Knox; the Earl of Mar, a man of

* Bailiff or overseer, superintending the estates, leases, &c. — See Hume of Godscroft's History of the House of Angus and Morton.

exemplary prudence; the Earls Ruthven and Lindsay, both furious zealots; lastly, James Hepburn, Earl Bothwell, a bold intriguing courtier, whose prodigality had exhausted his large hereditary possessions, and who, under the mask of boisterous gaiety, concealed a daring spirit, and an insatiable ambition. Of the Catholics, the most important was the Chancellor, the Earl of Huntley, the chief of the House of Gordon, who had signalized his valour in the wars with England, and his devotion to the House of Stuart, in all its conflicts with the nobility or the congregation: although staunch to his religion, he abstained from going to mass in Edinburgh, where Knox had established a despotic empire.

On the 28th of August, Mary made her public entry into Edinburgh, with every demonstration of loyalty from her subjects. Over her head was suspended a canopy of black and crimson, borne by twelve young men, habited in black velvet, with crimson

caps*, the sons of superior citizens, who gloried in their office. She smiled on all as she passed, with that grace peculiar to herself, which persuaded every beholder that he was the particularly distinguished individual. But under a cheerful aspect she concealed an anxious heart; the prejudices, and even the superstitions of education had taught her to distrust the honor and loyalty of heretics, and she long continued to expect that poison or some envenomed spell†, should devote her to a lingering death. Sensation baffles reason — neither the arguments of Lord James, nor the eloquence of Lethington, dissipated her terrors, but time and experience mitigated them, and she saw with pleasure her uncles and the Duke de Damville invited, on the

* Keith, page 189.

† See in chapter the fifth, Lord Ruthven's excuse for presenting her with a ring. A few hours before her death, Mary sent to Henry the Third, king of France, as a valuable bequest, two precious rings, for preserving life and health.

following Sunday, to a civic banquet: with so little strictness was the Sabbath then observed in Scotland, and so much more difficult is it to supersede habits than opinions. It was to Mary a painful task to endure the presence of Knox, whom she knew only as the Goliah of impiety, who had subverted the ancient faith, and incited subjects to rebellion; who reviled women, more especially such as had the misfortune to be queens; and was, throughout, an object of abhorrence. Of the zeal and success with which he had attacked vice and immorality, and of the effects which he had actually produced in society, by exacting from the higher and lower classes, the same reverence for moral and religious duty*, she knew nothing; she knew only, that his mind was perverted by fanaticism and intolerance. At the

* After the example of Calvin, Knox established a rigorous Kirk censorship, by virtue of which, men and women of the first rank were publicly subjected to penance for notorious offences.

suggestion of her brother, however, she determined to see this formidable adversary, whom she, perhaps, hoped to win by her sweetness and condescension.

An account of their interview, as detailed by himself, offers a curious illustration of his character, and explains in what predicament Mary was placed with her puritanical subjects. On his entrance he found with the Queen only her brother, the Lord James, who remained silent, whilst she reproached him with the work in which he had inveighed against the government of women,—the Preacher replied:

"Learned men, in all ages, have had "their judgments free, and most commonly "disagreeing from the common judgment "of the world; such also have they pub- "lished both with pen and tongue, not- "withstanding they themselves have lived "in the common society with others, and "have borne patiently with the errors and "imperfections which they could not

" amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his
" book of the Commonwealth, in the which
" he condemns many things that were main-
" tained in the world, and required many
" things to have been reformed; and yet,
" notwithstanding, he lived under such po-
" litics as then were universally received,
" without further troubling any state; even
" so, Madam, am I content to do, in up-
" rightness of heart, and with the testi-
" mony of a good conscience I have com-
" municated my judgment to the world.
" If the realm find no inconvenience in
" the regimen of a woman, that which
" they approve, shall I not farther disallow
" them within my own breast, but shall be
" as well content, and shall live under your
" Majesty as Paul was to live under the
" Roman Emperor; and my hope is, that so
" long as you defile not your hands with
" the blood of the saints of God, that
" neither I nor that book shall either hurt
" you or your authority; for in very deed,

" Madam, that book was written most espe-
" cially against wicked Mary of England."
" But you speak of women in general?"
" Most true it is, Madam, and yet plain-
" ly appeareth to me, that wisdom should
" persuade your Majesty never to raise
" trouble for that which this day hath not
" troubled your Majesty, neither in person
" nor in anxiety. For of late years, many
" things which before were holden stable,
" have been called in doubt; yea, they have
" been plainly impugned: but yet, Madam,
" I am assured, that neither Protestant nor
" Papist shall be able to prove that any
" such question was at any time moved in
" public, or in private. Even, Madam, if
" I had intended to trouble your estate,
" because you are a woman, I might have
" chosen a time more convenient for that
" purpose than I could do now, when your
" own presence is within the realm."

Having replied to the first charge, Knox reminded the Queen that he had resided in

England and other countries without having incurred the charge of sedition; and with regard to another imputation of his enemies, that he practised necromancy, he appealed to all who had ever heard him preach, whether he did not resist and condemn the impiety.

With this explanation Mary appears to have been satisfied; but she reminded him that by his arguments her subjects were incited to sedition. "You have," said she, "brought the people to receive another "religion than their princes can allow — "and how can that doctrine be of God, "seeing that God commandeth subjects to "obey their princes?"

"Madam, as right religion took neither "original nor integrity from worldly "princes, but from the eternal God alone, "so are not subjects bound to frame their "religion according to the appetite of "their princes. If all the seed of Abra-"ham should have been of the religion of

" Pharaoh, what religion should there have " been in the world? Or if all men in the " days of the Roman emperors, should have " been of the religion of the Roman em- " perors, what religion should have been " on the face of the earth? Daniel and his " fellows were subject to Nebuchadnezzar, " and unto Darius, and yet they would not " be of their religion."

To this argument Mary having replied, that none of these had raised *the sword* against their princes, Knox, with his usual shrewdness, rejoined:

" Yet, Madam, ye cannot deny but that " they resisted; for those that obey not the " commandments given, in some sort resist."

" But yet," reiterated the Queen, " they " resisted not by the sword."

" God, Madam, had not given them the " power and the means."

" Think you that subjects, having the " power, may resist their princes?"

" If princes do exceed their bounds,

" Madam, or do against that wherefore " they should be obeyed, there is no doubt " they may be resisted, even by power; " for there is neither greater honor nor " greater obedience to be given to kings " and princes than to father and mother; " but so it is, that the father may be stricken " with a phrenzy, in the which he will slay " his own children; now, Madam, if the " children arise, apprehend the father, take " the sword or other weapon from him, and " finally bind his hands and keep him in " prison till his phrenzy be overpast, think " ye, Madam, that the children do any " wrong?"

At the mention of a prison, Mary seemed petrified; and as Knox was celebrated for uttering oracular sentences, these words and the emotion they had produced, were afterwards attributed to preternatural inspiration. In the sequel, the Reformer pressed the Queen to hear the controverted points argued in her presence; and, on taking

leave, civilly wished she might be blessed by Scotland even as *Deborah* had been in *Israel.*

With the exception of Knox, who was consistent with his principles, Mary found not, among the fanatics of the day, much that savoured of ascetic self-denial. The habits of the young nobility were idle and luxurious; addicted to hawking, hunting, and drinking, they surrendered themselves to sensual gratification, and found it more easy to renounce the mass, and abuse the Papists, than to practise temperance, justice, and charity. Even the favourite of Knox, the Lord James, gave Mary no stern lessons of economy; nor were any limits imposed on her profusion in the establishment of her household. The people beheld with satisfaction the magnificence of the Court, which the young Queen and her ladies invested with the attractions of elegance and beauty. Of the four Maries the most distinguished was the lovely

Fleming, who soon inspired in Maitland a serious passion, and in the sequel became his devoted wife; Mary Livingston engaged the affections of Lord Semple; Mary Beaton, the daughter of Lord Crichie, though affianced by her father before she left France, remained unmarried, as did Mary Seaton. Exclusive of these playmates of her childhood, the Queen took under her protection a circle of young girls for education, including two junior sisters of the two Maries Beaton and Livingston; there was also a young French lady, called Mademoiselle de Pinguillon, to whom the Queen was extremely partial, but who, not relishing Scotland, soon returned to France. Of Mrs. Craig and Mrs. Brian, two other ladies belonging to the household, nothing is known but that, like the Maries, they were entitled to the honor of dining and supping in the Queen's chamber.*

* An embroiderer and tapestry maker were attached to their service: for each lady were provided a man and

Mary had brought from France many valuables besides her jewels, and by her care the walls of Holyrood were embellished with tapestry, far different from that exhibited at the espousals of James and Margaret; but she brought a more tasteful offering to her country in a little sycamore plant, which was transplanted to the garden, and in time (though Mary was not destined to witness its progress) expanded to a fair and stately tree*, which, if tradition may be credited, has been the parent stem of all those beautiful groves, so often celebrated in Scottish song.

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woman servant. At the breakfasts and collations were allotted two dishes to each individual of the higher order. At each meal, wine was served with profusion, and in the hall and the Queen's chamber there was a daily consumption of thirty gallons. *Menu de la Maison de la Royne faits par Monsieur Pinguillon.* — For the curious reader will be found an extract from this Book, at the end of the volume.

* This venerable tree was in existence till about four years ago, when it was blown down, its wood formed into trinkets, and sold as precious relics.

It was creditable to Mary's feelings that she relished the simple amusement of gardening, and delighted in the scenes of nature; but, if (as Brantome has described her) she was feelingly alive to the enjoyment of intellectual society, she had reason to repine under the privations she experienced. She found no Ronsards, no du Bellays to foster her talents or cultivate her taste; no elegant literature softened the asperity of polemical disputation. The scholastic Buchanan was the only native poet who visited her palace, and even he, on leaving France, appears to have renounced the muses.

It was, perhaps, policy that led Mary to cultivate the society of Thomas Randolph, the English resident, who, through the medium of Cecil, transmitted to Elizabeth regular and minute details of Mary and her Court. Randolph possessed a lively pen, and although evidently devoted to Murray and his party, his letters are not unworthy

of attention; and as they furnish information not to be derived from any other source, a few extracts, commencing from the period of Mary's arrival in Scotland, are submitted to the reader:

*To Secretary Cecil.**

September, 1561.

"Knox spoke upon Tuesday to the Queen, he knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her to weep; as well you know, there be some of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief. Though in this the Lord James will disagree with me: she charged him with his book; with his severe dealing with all men that disagreed with him in opinion; she willed him to use more meekness in his sermons; some things he spoke to her contentation, in mitigating the rigour of his book, and in some things he

* In Keith, page 188.

pleased her very little. In (special) speaking against the mass, he declared the grievous plagues of God, that had fallen upon all estates for committing idolatry. He concluded in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak freely his conscience, to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God, unto the superior powers. He prayed, and doth daily pray for her, as the preachers were wont to pray for Queen Mary, &c.

"The rumour that he hath talked with the Queen, maketh the Papists doubt what will become of the world; it liketh not them well that I resort so often to the Court; I have been there thrice since Sunday; but of all they marvel most, what traffic the Lord of Lethington maketh with you?* She herself hath found three points necessary to maintain her estate: first, to make peace

* Maitland was in England, labouring, with more zeal than policy, to extort a public acknowledgement from Elizabeth of Mary's claim to the crown of England.

with England; next, to be served by the Protestants (in the other party, she findeth not that which she looked for); the third is, to enrich her crown with the Abbey lands, which if she do, what shall there lack in her (saving a good husband) to lead a happy life?

"On Tuesday last she made her entry; she dined in the castle; the first sight she saw, after she came out of the castle, was a boy of six years of age, that came as it were from heaven out of a round hole, that presented unto her a Bible, a psalter, and the keys of the gates, and spoke unto her the verses which I send you. The rest were terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters—they were burnt—Core, Dathan, and Abiram—in the time of their sacrifices—they were minded to have had a priest burnt at the altar, at the elevation."*

* See Kelly, p. 190, copied from MSS. in the Cotton Library.

In the first progress that Mary took through the country, she perceived similar indications of fanaticism.

Randolph to Cecil.

" *September 24th.*

" On Sunday was eight days, her Grace's devout chaplains in the Chapel Royal would, by the good device of her trusty servant, Alexander Areskine, have sung a high mass. The Earl of Argyle and the Lord James so disturbed the quire, that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears; others were there, that shed a tear or two, and made no more of the matter. The by-gone night, at the Earl of Rothes, (I know not whether it be spoken in truth or malice), but, it is said, he lost both plate and something else, that was easy to be conveyed; but, it is very

true, that in those places where they have been, saving in this town, they have paid little for their meat.* At St. Johston's she was well received, and presented with a heart of gold, full of gold; she liked not the pageantry there, they did too plainly condemn the errors of the world. As she rode through the street she fell sick, and was borne from her horse into her lodging; with such sudden passions, I hear, she is often troubled, after any great unkindness or grief of mind. At St. Andrews she was upon Sunday, from whence I have not as yet heard; but that I judge to be a lie, that there was a priest slain this day.

"On Sunday next, Mr. Knox declareth the duty of all kinds of magistrates, in a good reformed Commonwealth. He hath received your letter, sent by the Laird of Lethington, and meaneth shortly to answer

* It will be recollected, that a similar charge was brought against the court of Henry the 8th.

it.* It is suspected, that the Lord James seeketh too much his own advancement; which hitherto little appeareth, for any thing that he ever received worth a groat. It is thought that Lethington is too politic; and take me these two out of Scotland, and those that love their country shall soon find the want of them."

Alarmed by the turbulence manifested by either party, Mary more than ever became desirous to cultivate the friendship of the English resident, and consented, at his solicitation, to read an oration of Beza, on the subject of transubstantiation; and although she still refused to discuss the subject, Randolph affected to believe that her conversion might be accomplished by the personal interposition of Elizabeth; an interview with the two Queens was therefore proposed, and earnestly recommended.

* A proof that Cecil communicated with the chief of the malcontents in Scotland.

Randolph to Cecil.

" *October 24th.*

" The next day, I was sent for to the council-chamber, where she herself sitteth the most part of the time, sewing some work or other. She saith unto me thus—" These " three days, I have done nothing else but " devise with my council, how to daunton " on the thieves and robbers upon the bor- " ders."

The council being dissolved*, she walked with Randolph in the garden, and thus began to question him:—" How like you " this country—you have been in it a " good space, and know it well enough ?" " My answer," continues Randolph, " was, " that the country was good, and the " polity might be made much better." " The absence," said she, " of a prince " hath caused it to be worse—but yet,

* It appears, that six lords were always present, and that they deliberated six hours every day.

" is it not like unto England?" I answered, " That there were many in the " world, worse than her Grace's, that " were thought right good, but I judged " few better than England; which, I " trusted, that some time after, her Grace " should witness." " I would be content " therewith," said she, " if my sister, your " mistress, so liked." I said, " That it " was the thing that many of her Grace's " subjects did desire, and, as I judged, would " also well content my mistress." Of this purpose we had long talk. Many honourable words she spake of the Queen's Majesty. She remembered her mother's passage through England, and commended the reception that her uncle, the Grand Prior, and Monsieur Villemont, had at Berwick."

After some official details, Randolph continues :—

" I receive of her Grace, at all times, very good words. I am borne in hand by

such as are nearest about her, as the Lord James and the Laird of Lethington: that they are meant as they are spoken of, I see them above all others in credit, and find in them no alteration; though there be that complain, they yield too much to her appetite, which I see not. The Lord James dealeth according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly; the Laird of Lethington more delicately and finely, yet nothing swerving from the other in mind and effect. — She is patient to hear, and beareth much. The Earl Marischal is wary, but speaketh sometimes to good purpose; — his daughter is lately come to this town: — we look shortly for what shall become of the long love betwixt the Lord James and that lady. The Lord John of Coldingham hath not least favour, with his leaping and dancing; — he is like to marry the Lord Bothwell's sister. The Lord Robert consumeth with love of the Earl Cassil's sister; — the Earl Bothwell hath given unto him old lands of his father,

in Teviotdale, and the Abbey of Melross. The Duke's Grace* is come to Kinneil, and proposes not to come near to the Court, except that he be sent for. I hear of nothing that is proposed against him; it is thought that he may be well enough spared. My Lord Arran proposeth not to be at Court so long as the mass remaineth: there come few to it, but herself, her uncle, and train. Three causes, I perceive there are, that makes my Lord of Arran to absent himself: the one is the mass; the other, the presence of his enemy; the third, lack wherewith to maintain a Court. By the first, he maintains his credit with the precise Protestants; the other argues less courage in him than many men thought, that his enemy is yet alive to have that place which he is unworthy of; the third manifests the beastliness of his father, that more than money, hath neither faith nor God. The lords now be-

* Chatelherault.

gin to return to the Court, the bishops flock apace; the Metropolitan of St. Andrew's arrived here on Monday last, with eighty horses in train, and to be seen he rode half-a-mile out of his way through the High-Street of Edinburgh; — we know not yet what mischief he and his associates come for: he had with him only two Hamiltons."

Randolph concludes his letter by saying:—

"Mr. Knox cannot be otherwise persuaded but many men are deceived in this *woman*; he feareth yet *posteriora erunt pejora primis*; his severity keepeth us in marvellous order.* I commend better the success of his doings and preachings, than the manner thereof, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound. His prayer is daily for her, that God will turn her obstinate

* Knox had lately imposed public penance on the Lord Treasurer of the Queen's houshold, for an illicit intrigue.

heart against God and his truth;—or, if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of his chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of *all tyrants:* and in words terrible enough."

Randolph to Cecil. *

"*November*, 1561.

"The absence of the Duke's Grace from this Court caused here such rumours among the people of his misliking of the Queen's proceedings, with somewhat else that they unadvisedly reported, that was meant towards him, that he was advised by his friends to repair into this town, and by his presence make void all such vain talk as was here in many men's mouths. † Upon Tuesday last he came into this

* Keith, page 101, from MSS. in Cotton Library.

† It appears, from Randolph, that the Queen was scarcely tolerated by these great lords, who exercised absolute dominion over their vassals.

town, upon Wednesday he saw the Queen, and was well received, and as he confessed to me, no manner of occasion offered by the Queen of misliking; since that time he hath been daily in Court and council. He doubts that the Queen intends to take from him Dumbarton, and so thinketh himself void of all place of succour; "For," saith he, "whenever she hath that out of my hands, I know that her mind towards me and my house cannot be good. I will, therefore, assure myself by all means, to keep that which I shall not be able to do unless your mistress at that time stand a gracious Princess, who hath promised me by letters, never to see me nor my house wrecked." Though I knew that he doubteth more than he hath occasion, yet would in no manner of way condemn his purpose, nor thought it good to discourse him of the Queen's favor, so long as he perseveres in the maintenance

of God's truth, obedience to his sovereign, and affection towards my mistress.

"I enquired of him, what right he had to have that place, or pretence to refuse the delivery if it were demanded: he answered that his right was none, but that he took it from the Earl of Lennox; but that he had a promise made to him by mouth by this Queen's mother to have it in a farm for nineteen years. My Lord of Arran remaineth at St. Andrews *: he knoweth not himself, and I cannot conjecture what he means by his abode there: he wrote of late to the council, that he might be assured of the revenues of St. Andrews, Dumferline, and Melross, by the Queen's authority, as they had put him in possession; adding this clause, that otherwise he would complain to his brethren, who from the beginning had

* Not long after this, Lord Arran became insane.

been of the congregation. This manner of doing was found very strange; his bill was rejected.

"It is now called in question whether that the Princess, being an idolater, may be obeyed in all civil and politic actions."*

"I think marvellously of the wisdom of God," says Randolph, "that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more power and substance than they have, for then would they run wild. Now they imagine that the Lord James groweth cold; that he aspireth to great matters; he is now lieutenant upon the borders, commander, that is, sole minion, of the Queen, like shortly to be Earl of Murray, and Treasurer of Scotland. Lethington ambitious and too full of policy; so there is no remedy, say they; it must yet come to a new day. To the contrary of this I persuade by all means that I can with

* See Knox.

such as I may most assuredly have to do, and in my conscience they are in the wrong to the Lord James, and whenever Lethington is taken out of this place they shall not find among themselves so fit a man to serve in this realm."

As an additional proof of popular fanaticism, Randolph mentions, "that the Queen having ordered mass to be sung, one of the priests was well beaten for his reward, by a servant of the Lord Robert's. We look to have it proclaimed again, that no man under pain of confiscation, hear, say, or come unto her own mass, saving her household that came out of Erance. The ministers shall have their livings appointed by her authority."

"Of the Catholics," he says, "they know not yet, for all their mass, what they may well think of her: they say the Lord James beareth too much rule; Lethington hath a crafty head, and fell tongue; the worst that they like is, the accord that

they hear is like to be between the Queen's Majesty and this Queen; if that be, they think themselves quite overthrown; they say plainly, that she cannot then return a true Christian woman; and before God, neither I nor the Lord of Lethington can be persuaded that she will give over her mass till she hath spoken with the Queen's Majesty."

The arrival of the French ambassador de Foix, produced many speculations, and Randolph shrewdly remarks: "Out of the countenances of princes, he that is able to judge, may pick out great likelihoods of their thoughts, or find how they are disposed. The time of her talk with Monsieur de Foix it was marked by others, before I came in, (and after, I saw myself,) many alterations in her face: her colour better that day than ever I saw it; when I talked with her she was very merry, and spake with much affection, as I think came from the heart."

"During Lent, she observed the old manner in all her doings; she could not persuade one lord of her own to wear the *deule* for that day, not so much as the Earl Bothwell."

The arrival of Monsieur Moret, in whose suite came the celebrated David Rizio, was equally a subject of speculation to the diplomatist, who enquires, with pretended interest, whether he came to Scotland to propose a marriage between the Queen and the Duke de Nemours; his curiosity is, however, unsatisfied, and all that he learns is, *that* when any purpose falleth in of *homage*, she saith, '*she will have none other husband than the Queen of England.*'

After the perusal of these extracts, it will not appear extraordinary that Mary should, as Melvil states, have been subject to fits of melancholy when she was not under the influence of strong excitement;

or that she should have sought the society of foreigners, with an avidity that offended her jealous countrymen; neither is it surprising, that when the more irksome duties of the day were over, she should have been tempted to prolong the dance or concert long beyond the hour that Knox and prudence would have prescribed. In this manner, habits of self-indulgence must inevitably have been acquired, which she had hereafter cause to lament. Upon great and momentous occasions, Mary was capable of energy, courage, and endurance, but with quick parts, and ardent feelings, she possessed not the solid judgment and political sagacity by which her mother had been eminently distinguished; and although she cherished a high idea of the royal prerogative, she frankly surrendered her authority to friends or favourites, of whom accident rather than reason determined the choice. Hitherto she had acquiesced in Murray's supremacy, but they

sympathized little in sentiment; and though unequal to the cares of government, she sighed to reclaim her independence. It was an engaging feature in Mary's character, that she never forgot a friend, or overlooked a service; but in her, kindness sometimes became prodigality, and gratitude injustice: she despised economy, and lavished on a Mary Livingston, or a David Rizio, money that might have purchased respect even from her disaffected subjects.*

* The Queen gave certain lands to John Semple on his marriage with Mary Livingston, which were afterwards reclaimed. She bestowed, also, the revenue of an abbey on George Buchanan.

CHAPTER IV.

MARY UNDER MURRAY'S TUTELAGE.—VARIOUS SPECULATIONS ON HER MARRIAGE.—RESTORATION OF THE EARL OF LENNOX.—ARRIVAL OF DARNLEY, AND PROGRESS OF HIS SUIT.—OPPOSITION FROM MURRAY AND ELIZABETH.—MARRIAGE OF DARNLEY AND MARY.

It was not long before Mary fulfilled every promise she had made to her brother, by bestowing on him the Earldom of Murray, including certain lands belonging to the crown. He continued to be her minister, or, as he was called, her minion: in reality the sovereign of Scotland.* But while the Earl governed the Queen, he was himself held in subjection to Knox, who, on his marriage with the Lady Agnes Keith, publicly admonished

* To Mary's honour, the appointment of three days in the Sessions-house, for gratuitously attending to poorer clients, was of her own suggestion.—Keith.

him of the duties which he owed to religion and his country; adding, that if he should hereafter be found lukewarm in the cause, it would be said his wife had changed his nature. Murray was, however, far from participating in the intolerant zeal of his monitor, and in conjunction with Lethington, than whom no Jesuit was more dexterous in controversy, laboured to reconcile Knox to the necessity of allowing the Queen to worship God according to the dictates of conscience: the Preacher persisted in demanding that the idol should be taken from her — and though, finally, the question was submitted to Calvin, continued in his sermons to satirize the Queen's levity and hypocrisy; — her taste for dancing and fiddling excited his abhorrence; and, in one instance, he inveighed against these abominations with such peculiar acrimony, that Mary was unwisely persuaded to summon him to her presence. But, instead of apologizing for his offence,

he coolly replied, "Madam, this is oftentimes the just recompence which God gives the stubborn of the world, that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, they are oft compelled to hear the false reports of others, to their great displeasure. Madam, if the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have reported my words, and the circumstances of the same: but, because they would have credit in Court, and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they must have somewhat to please your Majesty, if it were but flattery and lies; but such pleasure (if any your Majesty take in such persons) will turn to your everlasting displeasure; for, Madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you one spark of the Spirit of God, yea, of honesty and wisdom, you would not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake." In proof of his words he recited the discourse to confute the re-

porters, and was dismissed rather with a compliment than a reproach.

On quitting the palace, Knox heard some one exclaim, "He is not afraid!" "And what," said he, "should there be to afray me, in the pleasing face of a gentlewoman? I have met many angry men, and yet was never afraid."

It falls not within the scope of this work minutely to enter into the history of Scotland, or the details of Murray's administration; it is, therefore, not necessary to describe the commotions in the north, followed by the Earl of Huntly's insurrection and death. The transaction belonged exclusively to the minister*; the only share that

* According to the statement of Keith, page 229, Huntly had lately been deprived of lands which were given to Murray, as having originally belonged to the Earldom of Murray. Huntly was a zealous Catholic, mutual antipathy subsisted between them: the former, who was powerful and ambitious, appears to have believed that the Queen might be persuaded to marry his son, Sir John Gordon; Murray took ad-

Mary had in it, was that she unwillingly sanctioned his behests against several noble Catholics; and, finally, at Aberdeen witnessed with anguish, the execution of Sir John Gordon, the Earl's son, by whom she was passionately adored. It may be remarked of this ill-fated youth, that of all who felt or affected to feel the power of Mary's charms, he only appears to have cherished for her a sincere attachment. It was suspected, that the Queen was not insensible to his merits*; but by precipitately quitting the prison to which he had been committed, in consequence of an unfortunate duel, he compelled his Mistress to assume great rigour; and she even forbade him her presence. At this crisis,

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vantage of his presumption to prejudice the Queen against him; Huntly took up arms rather against Murray than the Queen, and perished at the fight of Corrichie. See also Chalmers, quarto edit. vol. i. p. 79.

* See Gordon's History of the House of Gordon.

Mary was conducted by Murray on a progress to the north of Scotland, where the Gordons had great power, and held many castles in their possession. The Earl of Huntly, who had submitted indignantly to Murray's administration, refused to deliver those strong holds into his hands. The Earl, in the Queen's name, persisted; Huntly, believing that she, in demanding the cession, sighed to be liberated from her brother's usurpation, collected his vassals, — was joined by his son, — and finally defeated and slain at Corrichie. For Sir John Gordon was reserved a harder fate; his opposition to Murray was ostensibly rebellion*; and whatever might be her private sentiments, Mary had so little the power to soften his sentence, that she was not even

* It will be recollected, that during the minority of James the Fifth, the sovereign was constrained to march against a loyal subject. It appears not, however, that Mary favoured Huntly, but she certainly wished to spare his family.

permitted to decline seeing it executed. To Gordon it perhaps afforded some gratification, that his parting look was hers, and his last sigh breathed in her presence. It was pretended by his enemies, that he had confessed his father's meditated treasons; but the circumstance is improbable; and it is certain, that Mary dissembled not the sorrow she suffered for his death. But other cares forced her attention from this painful subject; the state of France, now distracted with civil warfare, occasioned her the most lively inquietude. In one of those revolutions incident to a Court, the Constable Montmorenci had coalesced with his antient foes, the Princes of Lorrain, and his son, the Duke de Damville, was seen fighting under the same standard. But scarcely had Mary exulted in this intelligence, than her satisfaction was damped by the fatal tidings, that her two beloved kinsmen, the Grand Prior and the Duke of Guise, had

perished *; the former in the battle of Dreux, the latter by the hands of the fanatical Poltrot. In common with all her family, Mary ascribed the instigation of the crime to Admiral Coligny, who had in vain demanded to be confronted with his accuser. The House of Guise and its partizans adhered to their prejudice—and even the venerable Antoinetta quitted her castle at Joinville, to lead the family procession, which paraded the streets, imploring justice! Deeply affected with these domestic calamities, Mary felt herself outraged by the rigors which were exercised towards her Catholic subjects, several of whom had revived the antient worship, and were consequently subjected to severe penalties; even her personal friend, the Bishop of St. Andrews, escaped not imprisonment.

* The son of the Duke of Guise cruelly revenged his father's death on the supposed murderer, at the fatal marriage of Henry of Navarre. — Knox, p. 350.

The ferment had been created by Knox, who, in his turn, saw with no small chagrin the homage offered to the Queen, on her first public appearance in parliament.*

In the sequel a dispute arose between Knox and Murray; which, during many months, occasioned the suspension of their friendship. This circumstance diminished not the severity with which the former continued to animadvert upon the Queen's conduct. The subject of her marriage had

* "Three sundry days the Queen rode to the Tollboth; the first day she made a painted oration, and there might have been heard amongst her flatterers, 'Vox Dianæ, the voice of a goddess! (for it could not Dei,) and not of a woman! — God save that sweet face! was there ever orator spoke so properly and so sweetly!' All things," he adds, "misliked the preachers. They spake boldly against the superfluity of their clothes, and against the rest of their vanity, which they affirmed should provoke God's wrath not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm. Articles were presented for orders to be taken of apparel, and for reformation of other enormities, but all was winked at." *Knox's History of the Reformation*, p. 361.

long engaged the attention of her subjects, but of none more than Knox, who dreading the imposition of a popish sovereign, was displeased with her rejection of the King of Sweden, and alarmed with the rumour that the Archduke of Austria and Don Carlos of Spain had both been proposed to the Queen of Scots. In the fervor of his zeal, the Preacher attacked Mary with such violence, that she was once more advised to summon him to her presence.* He was accompanied to the palace by another minister, John Erskine, of Dun, whose gentle aspect and mild temper bore a striking contrast to his own stern deportment. On being introduced to the royal chamber, the Queen, says Knox, began to cry out in a vehement fume:

"That never Prince was used as shee "was; I have," said she, "borne with you

* This description of the interview is given by himself, and characteristic of the man and the age.

" in all your rigorous manner of speaking*, " both against myself, and against my " uncles; yea, I have sought your favour " by all possible meanes; I offered unto " you presence and audience whensoever " it pleased you to admonish mee; and yet " I cannot be quit of you; I vow to God " I shall be once revenged:" and with these words scarce could Marnocke, one of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the teares and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech."

" The said John," he adds, " did patiently abide all this fume, and at opportunitie answered; " True it is, Madame, your Ma- " jesty and I have beene at divers contro-

* Lethington had in vain attempted to induce Knox to change the style of his prayers for Mary, observing, that he put a doubt in the people of her conversion. " Not I," said the other, " but her own obstinate rebellion, causeth more than me to doubt of her conversion." " Wherein rebels she against God?" " In every action of her life," replied Knox, " but especially in that she will not hear the preaching of the blessed Evangell." — Knox, p. 384.

" versies, into the which I never perceived
" your Majesty to be offended at me; but
" when it shall please God to deliver you
" from that bondage of darknesse and er-
" rour wherein ye have been nourished for
" the lack of true doctrine, your Majesty
" will finde the liberty of my tongue no-
" thing offensive; without the preaching
" place, I thinke few have occasion to be
" offended at me; and there I am not mas-
" ter of myselfe, but must obey Him who
" commands me to speak plaine, and to
" flatter no flesh upon the face of the
" earth."

" But what have you to do," said she,
" with my marriage?"

Without deigning to notice this question, Knox went on methodically to answer:

" If it please your Majesty patiently
" to hear me, I shall shew the truth in
" plain words. I grant your Majesty of-
" fered unto mee more than ever I re-
" quired, but my answer was then as it is

" now, That God hath not sent me to " awaite upon the courts of Princes, or " upon the chamber of ladies, but I am " sent to preach the Evangell of Jesus " Christ to such as please to hear; it hath " two points, Repentance and Faith: Now, " in preaching repentance, of necessity it " is that the sinnes of men be noted, " that they may know wherein they of- " fend. But so it is, that most part of your " nobilitie are so much addicted to your " affections, that neither God's Word, nor " yet their Commonwealth, are rightly re- " garded; and, therefore it becometh me to " speak that they may know their duty."

" What have you to do," reiterated the Queen, " with my marriage, or what are you " within the Commonwealth?"

" A subject, borne within the same, " Madame; and albeit I bee neither earle, " lord, nor baron, within it, yet hath God " made me, (how abject that ever I bee in " your eyes) a profitable and a usefull mem-

" ber within the same; yea, Madame, to
" me it appertaineth no less to forewarn
" of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee
" them, then it doeth to any one of the no-
" bility; for both my vocation and office
" craveth plainnesse of me: and therefore,
" Madame, to yourselfe I say that which
" I spake in publike: Whensoever the no-
" bility of this realme shall be content, and
" consent that you be subject to an unlaw-
" full husband, they doe as much as in them
" lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the
" truth, to betray the freedom of this
" realme, and perchance shall, in the end,
" doe small comfort to yourselfe."

" At these words," the cynic continues, " howling was heard, and teares might have been seene in greater abundance than the matter required: John Erskine, of Dun, a man of meeke and gentle spirit, stood beside, and did what he could to mitigate the anger, and gave unto her many pleasant words of her beauty, of her excellency, and

how that all the Princes in Europe would be glad to seek her favours; but all that was to cast oil into the flaming fire."

No such mitigation, however, was offered by Knox, who stood still, without any alteration of countenance, and in the end said, "Madame, in God's presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures, yea, I can scarcely well abide the teares of mine own boys, when mine own hands correct them; much less can I rejoice in your Majesties weeping; but seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me: I must sustaine your Majesties teares rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the Commonwealth by silence." Herewith was the Queen more offended, and commanded the said John to passe forth of the cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the chamber.

"But in that chamber, where he stood as

one whom men had never seene (except that the Lord Ochiltree bare him company) the confidence of Knox did not forsake him; and, therefore, began he to make discourse with the ladies, who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel; which, when he espied, he merrily said, "Fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide; and then in the end that wee might passe to Heaven with this geare: but fie upon that knave, Death, that will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foule wormes will bee busie with this flesh, be it never so faire and so tender: and the silly soule, I feare, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones." The ladies listened with complacency, and, perhaps, had not been often so well entertained. Such a being as Knox was not to be awed by a Court; and Mary, had she been wise, would never have

attacked the man whom she could not subdue; above all, she ought to have known, that woman's tears, when they move not pity, provoke contempt.

After reiterated failures, she was weak enough to make another effort to intimidate; to which she was, however, tempted by the belief that in issuing circular letters to convene, upon a certain day, the members of the different congregations in Edinburgh, Knox had exceeded the limits even of his *evangelical* privilege; but, on being formally arraigned before the members of her council, he not only vindicated his conduct, but even in the Queen's presence, extorted from her Lords a confession, that, according to law, he had committed no offence against her.

After this triumph, Knox celebrated his marriage with Margaret Stuart, the daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a young lady who had scarcely completed her twentieth year. By what spells or charms this austere personage,

who never ceased to revile and vilify the female sex, could have created in a youthful bosom such tender interest, must be left to conjecture — but the nuptials were solemnised with the entire approbation of her parents, who gloried in their affinity to the intrepid Reformer.

Happy had it been for Mary Stuart, could she have been equally favoured in her election of a consort! It had indeed been urged by Knox and others, that no choice ought to be allowed her, and that it was rather for the states to give the Queen a husband, than for the Queen to impose a sovereign on the people.

Nor was it to the states alone that Mary had to refer her election; on the part of England, Elizabeth protested against a foreign potentate — the Puritans deprecated a Papist — the Pope and other Catholic princes interdicted a Protestant alliance, against which her own prejudices operated more strongly, even than their imperative

veto. But for that fatal obstacle, what should have impeded a marriage treaty with the Prince de Condé, now a widower; or one of the numerous German Princes, unincumbered with territory, who would have gloried in her alliance? But Mary, who was secretly devoted to the interests of her church, still cherished the delusive persuasion, that her subjects might be reclaimed to the faith of their fathers. Averse by nature to cruelty, and instructed by the fatal example she had witnessed in France, she was little likely, under any circumstances, to recur to sanguinary persecution; but she obviously was ready to employ seduction, or any other means, to accomplish the desired object, the source of all her present and subsequent perplexities. On the subject of marriage, too, she was embarrassed by her views on the English sceptre; and her desire to be declared the presumptive heiress of Elizabeth, to whom she offered, on that condition, to submit her choice.

During three years it formed the basis of correspondence between the two Queens, in whom their respective ministers laboured to cultivate a cordial friendship.* The real object of Lethington and certain English ministers, appears to have been to make the succession to the English crown contingent on the conversion of Mary from Popery, and on that condition to procure her union with a Protestant consort. Unfortunately, their Queens entered not sincerely into these sentiments; Mary as little intended to renounce her religion, as Elizabeth to nominate a successor. In the progress of the negociation, to gain time, the Queen of England proposed to Mary to espouse the Earl of Leicester. Randolph relates the manner in which the proposal was received, in a letter describing his visit to St. Andrews,

* It has been pretended, that Cecil was originally averse to the union of the two kingdoms; but this was probably owing to his repugnance to the Queen of Scots and her Catholic tenets.

which affords an agreeable picture of Mary's domestic life.*

"Her grace lodged in a merchant's house; her train was very few; and there was small repair from any part. Her will was, that, for the time that I did tarry, I should dine and sup with her. Your Majesty was oftentimes dranken unto by her, at dinners and suppers. Having in this sort continued with her Grace Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to take occasion to utter that which last I received in command from your Majesty, by Mr. Secretary's letter; which was to know her Grace's resolution, touching those matters propounded at Berwick, by my Lord of Bedford and me, to my Lord of Murray, and Lord of Liddington; I had no sooner spoken these words, but she saith, "I see now well, that you are weary of this company and treatment; I sent for you

* For this agreeable letter, copied from the Paper Office, the public are indebted to Mr. Chalmers.

to be merry, and to see how like a Bourgeois wife I live, with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave matters; I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassade until the Queen come thither; for I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become; you see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance that you may think there is a Queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh."

"I said, that I was very sorry for that, for that at Edinburgh she said, that she did love my mistress, the Queen's Majesty, better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was altered. It pleased her at this to be very merry, and called me by more names than were given me in my christening. At these merry conceits much good sport were made. "But well, Sir,"

saith she, "that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister, your mistress, in writing; before you go out of this town you shall have a letter unto her, and for yourself, go where you will, I care no more for you." The next day I was willed to be at my ordinary table, being placed the next person (saving worthy Beaton*) to the Queen's self.

"Very merrily she passeth her time: after dinner she rideth abroad. It pleased her the most part of the time to talk with me; she had occasion to speak much of France, for the honour she received there; to be wife unto a great king, and for friendship shewn unto her in particular, by many, for which occasions she is bound to love the nation, to shew them pleasure, and to do them good.

"Her acquaintance is not so forgotten

* Mary Beaton, who from her infancy, had been a maid of honour. She was the niece of Cardinal Beaton.

there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, but yet it is divers ways sought to be continued. She hath of her people, many well affected that way, for the nourriture that they have had there, and the commodity of service, as those of the guard, and men at arms; besides, privileges great for the merchants, more than ever were granted to any nation. What privately, of long time, hath been sought, and yet is, for myself to yield unto their desires in my marriage; your Majesty cannot be ignorant, and you have heard. To have such friends, and see such offers (without assurance of as good), nobody will give me advice that loveth me. Not to marry, you know, it cannot be for me; to defer it long, many incommodities ensue. How privy to my mind, your mistress hath been herein; how willing I am to follow her advice, I have shewn many times, and yet can I find in her no resolution, nor determination. For nothing, I cannot be bound unto her; and to France, my will against

ter; but, if she will repute me always but as her neighbour, Queen of Scots, how willing soever I be to live in amity, and to maintain peace; yet, must she not look for that at my hands, that otherwise I would, or she desireth. To forsake friendship offered, and present commodity, for uncertainty, no friend will advise me, nor your mistress herself approve my wisdom. Let her, therefore, measure my case as her own, and so will I be to her. For these causes, until my sister and I have further proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those, that seem to tender most my profit, that shew their care over me, and wish me most good."*

During these matrimonial negociations, Mary had not over-looked the eligibility of her cousin, Lord Darnley; whose father, the Earl of Lennox, it will be recollected,

* For this letter, of which the original remains in the Paper Office, the public are indebted to Mr. Chalmers. See his Life of Mary, quarto edition.

after his rejection by Mary of Guise, went to England, and received from Henry the Eighth the hand of his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas*, who, after Mary herself, was the next presumptive heir to the crown of England. To consolidate these claims to the English succession, by an union with Darnley, appeared not even to Cardinal Lorrain a contemptible speculation; Lethington patronized, nor could Morton†, who was his kinsman, be averse to it; but to Murray, the proposal appears to have been highly displeasing; and Randolph, suddenly discovering in Mary a thousand faults, thus echoes his sentiments ‡:—

"I hear daily, so many and grievous complaints of the state and government of

* It will be recollected, that the father of this Lady Douglas, Earl of Angus, after his divorce from Queen Margaret, tyrannized over James the Fifth, in his minority.

† James, Earl of Morton, was the son of Sir George Douglas, brother to the Earl of Angus.

‡ In a letter to Sir William Cecil.

this country, that either there is great lack of wisdom in those that have the chief charge to direct all things as they ought to be, or great fault in the subjects, that through their disobedience, no good order (be it never so well devised) can be observed. What troubles have arisen in this country for religion, your Honour knoweth; all things are now grown into such a liberty, and her Grace taken unto herself such a will, to do therein what she lists, that of late, contrary to her own ordinances, as great numbers have repaired to her Chapel, to hear mass, as sometimes come to the common Church, to hear sermon. To have her mind alter'd for this freedom, she desireth to have all men live as they list; she can hardly be brought, and thinketh it too great a subjection, for her, being a Prince in her own country, to have her will broken therein.*

* Keith, p. 271.

"The subjects that desire to live in the true worship and fear of God, offer rather their lives again to be sacrificed, than that they would suffer again such an abomination; yea, almost permit herself to enjoy the mass, which is now more plainly and openly spoken against by the preachers, than ever was the Pope of Rome. This kindleth in her a desire to revenge, and breedeth in others a liberty to speak, and a will to attempt to mend that by force *, which by no other means they can get reformed. What this may grow unto, except some speedy help be put unto it, I leave your Honour to think; for myself, I would I were far enough from the sight of it.

"There were two notable blasphemies against God, yet not worthily punished, though somewhat, with difficulty, enough to have the doers committed to prison. A schoolmaster at Haddingtoun made a play,

* Even at this period, the deposition of Mary appears inevitable.

to exercise his scholars against the ministers, and baptized a cat in the name of the Father, the Son, &c. One of the Queen's Chapel, a singing man, said, that he believed as well a tale of Robin Hood, as any word written in the Old Testament or the New.* Her own mass, and the resort unto it; such blasphemies as these unpunished; her will to continue Papistry, and her desire to have all men live as they list, so offendeth the godly men's consciences, and so many besides that desire alteration†, that it is continually feared that these matters will shortly break out to some greater mischief. By the way, I will tell your Honour a merry tale, but very true, which commonly tales are not. There is one that attendeth upon this Court, called Moffet, who, commonly once in three years, entereth into a phrenzy. Within these twenty days, his passion taketh

* Not approved by the Holy Church.

† According to Randolph, its disaffection was not confined to the rigid Puritans.

him with such an imagination that he is the Queen's husband. A great Protestant he is, and very godly when he is in his wits. He came one day into the Queen's Chapel, and finding the priest at mass, drew out his sword, drove the priest from the altar into the vestry, broke the chalice, and threw and pulled to pieces all the robes and reliques; cross, candlesticks, and all that was there, were cut and broken. The mass-sayer was the Doctor of Sorbon, and at the hearing of it was the Queen's physician, and (as he saith himself) never in greater fear of his life, and hid himself behind the tapestry, until this execution of this mass-god was past. This doth as much anger the Queen, as it doth please many others, to have her sacred place thus disturbed.

"These often debates, these common controversies between her nobles, must needs bring great disliking; and so often renewed, yea, almost daily, to her Grace's

grief to hear of them, must needs grow to a mischief, and as they say, *erumpere in nervum.* Above all the rest, this is that is feared, (that will be the breach of all good accord and quietness of this estate, though the rest be borne with) that is, if she match herself with a Papist, by whom she may be fortified to her intent. Of this point there is no small care taken, and much doubt risen what shall become of those who in times past have so far attempted as to establish here churches, &c. without her consent. Sometime they take advice to be suitor unto the Queen's [of England] Majestie, that she will be so careful of this estate, and with those that with all reverence and humble sort are ready to serve her, and obey her next unto their own sovereign."

Although Murray was hostile to the Queen's marriage, he could form no feasible objection to the restoration of the Earl of Lennox, nor to the reception of Darnley in Scotland; and it was actually at his house at Wemyss,

in Fife, that the youthful lord was presented to his Queen. To this romantic adventure, he had been prompted by the suggestions of his mother, the aspiring Lady Lennox, the niece of Henry the Eighth, who, during four years, had not ceased to speculate on her Henry's union with the Queen of Scots. A Catholic herself, she had infused into her son's mind the same principles; and though from policy, he *trim'd* his religion between Puritanism and Popery *, she was persuaded his cousin would have no reason to be dissatisfied with his sentiments. But she trusted not to his personal merits alone, for the success of the adventure. Bred in a Court, and familiar with its venal intrigues, she had collected money and jewels to be judiciously distributed to favorites and parasites; and having thus prepared the way, parted from him with secret exultation, little suspecting she had taken her last look of that handsome youth, on whom she doated,

* Randolph in Keith.

and who was eventually to be the victim of her enterprizing ambition.

Inflated with that presumption which, in his sex, commonly accompanies the consciousness of transcendant beauty, Darnley was disposed to consider himself entitled to the greatest princess in Europe; for the present, however, he followed his mother's prudent counsels, appeared modest, and concealed his arrogance under the semblance of reserve. Though three years younger than the Queen, his majestic stature, and dignified carriage, were imposing; his features regular,—his motions graceful, whilst his eloquent eyes answered for his intellectual endowments. The first impression was not unfavourable. Mary remarked he was *the properest long man* she had ever seen*; and when, at the invitation of Lord Murray, he danced with her a *gaillarde*, they appeared to mutual advantage. In dancing and riding, Darnley equally excelled; he played

* Melvil's Memoirs.

on the lute, had a musical ear, and relished poetry. It was long since Mary had met with a cavalier, young, handsome, and of royal extraction, capable of appreciating her own elegant accomplishments. From the hour of his arrival, Darnley's object was obvious,—his success seemed doubtful. Whether swayed by pride, or coquetry, or whether Mary indulged the too visionary hope, that she might be wooed for herself, rather than her crown, and sought to prolong the probation of love, it is certain that she refused the ring, which, according to the custom of the age, Darnley offered to her, as the token of his passion. She permitted, rather than invited his attentions, and by her reserve probably reminded the Earl of Lennox of his own unprosperous suit with her mother, Mary of Guise. In this uncertainty, Darnley, recollecting his mother's prudent counsels, presented a jewel to David Rizio, the Savoyard musician, men-

tioned by Randolph, who had been lately advanced to the post of French Secretary, and being shrewd and entertaining, a poet and a wit, easily won the Queen's favour, and, by degrees, almost engrossed her confidence. That Mary should have relished his music, or even his conversation, was not surprising, considering the constraint imposed upon her in Scotland; but that, with the example of Oliver Sinclair and Solway Moss before her, she should venture publicly to distinguish one, who both as a foreigner and a Papist, offended the pride, and alarmed the jealousy of her subjects, argues a lamentable deficiency in judgment and discretion, than which, in her position, nothing could be more fatal. At this period Darnley too caressed the fortunate Savoyard, who warmly patronised his suit; nor was his suspence of long duration. During a temporary malady, which proved to be the measles, he excited in his royal mistress an excess of alarm and tenderness, that

betrayed her secret to the Court, to Randolph, and Elizabeth. The Queen of England, though in reality well affected to the match, from policy commenced a vigorous opposition, by committing Lady Lennox to the Tower, and recalling her husband and her son from Scotland. The message was received by Lennox with respect — by Mary with tears — by Darnley with contempt. The arrogance of that young nobleman was already but too palpable, and he not only defied the Duke of Chatelherault and the Hamiltons, but affronted Murray, by imprudently remarking, that he had obtained too many lands from the Crown*; for the last offence, Mary with much difficulty persuaded him to offer an apology; but even as a lover, he was refractory to her wishes; and, though ever ready to exact sacrifices, seldom condescended to make them; such, in fine, were his folly and perverseness, that Randolph appears

* Randolph in Keith.

not to have exaggerated his defects in the following description:—

"His behaviour is such, he is runne in open contempt of all men, even of those that were his chief friends; what shall become of him, I know not, but it is greatly to be feared, that he can have no long life amongst this people. The Queen herself, being of better understanding, seeketh to frame and fashion him to the nature of her subjects: no persuasion can alter that which custom hath made old in him. He is counted proud, disdainful, and suspicious; which kind of men, this of any other least bear. Towards her Grace herself, I never saw men's minds so greatly altered; yea, I may say, almost to utter contempt of her, without the fear of God, regard to princely majesty, or care that she ought to have over her subjects or country."

Independent of personal dislike, Murray felt himself imperatively bound, as ostensible chief of the Reformers, to oppose Mary's

union with a Papist; the mass, though abolished by the Convention, was, by the Queen's example, upheld and protected, and in the troubled state of Europe, who should guarantee indemnity to the Reformers, unless their civil and religious liberties were fixed on a permanent basis? Such were the arguments with which the Earl justified to himself and his party, his association with the Duke and other Protestant Lords, which the Queen called sedition; his private applications to Elizabeth for assistance, and, finally, the enterprize planned, though not executed, for surprizing Darnley and Mary at the Raid of Baith*, and transporting the former to England, whilst the Queen was to be confined till she should grant certain conditions for the Kirk and Scotland. These proceedings, though perhaps in part necessary, verged on rebellion, and neither the nobility or the citizens afforded Murray

* See Keith, p. 292.

the encouragement he expected: the former, according to Knox, were actuated by jealousy, the latter by prejudice. In reality, the people, who passionately desired to see the race of Bruce perpetuated, in the sympathy naturally excited by two youthful lovers, were disposed to overlook those objections which to Murray and Knox appeared insuperable. In the meanwhile, all was suspicion and dismay at Court; it was pretended that Lennox and Darnley sought Murray's life, and that cautious statesman not only availed himself of the rumour to refuse his sister's invitations, but framed from it an excuse for assembling his partizans, and for reiterating his clandestine applications to Cecil and Elizabeth.* The Queen became alarmed — was estranged from her own attendants, and surrendered herself to Lennox, Darnley, and Rizio. Randolph continued to write to Cecil, but it was only to create a prejudice against her.

* Keith, p. 300.

"The Lords of the Congregation assembled themselves yesterday at Stirling, only to conclude what their parts should be if the Queen would overthrow religion, or do any manner of act that might give occasion to the Queen our Sovereign to make war against this country. She (Mary) taking an opinion that they would come to this town and assail her here, sent for them with the greater expedition, as by this letter* inclosed your Honour may perceive, in which you may note in what credit the Queen our Mistress is yet in; that she can be content to use this term our old enemies†, besides many unhonourable words that she hath openly spoken; and plainly I must say, that she is so much altered from that majesty that I have seen in her — from that modesty that I have wondered at to be in her, that she is not now counted by her own sub-

* A circular letter from Queen Mary to the Lords Barons of Fife, Angus, and Lothian, demanding their aid. — Keith, p. 298.

† Quoted from the letter above-mentioned.

jects not to be the woman she was.* She is so poor at this present, that ready money she hath very little, credit none at all, friendship with few; both she and her

* The following letter was addressed to the Queen of England by the associated Lords at Stirling:—

"May it please your Majesty, understanding by your ambassador, Sir N. Thockmorton, and also by Mr. Randolph, the good and gracious mind your Majesty beareth to the maintenance of the Gospel, and we that profess the same in this Realm, it is expedient to let your Majesty understand, that lately we have presented our Sovereign certain articles for establishing the Evangill in this our native country; whereof, as the answer is long delayed, so hope we very slenderly thereof; and fearing that our earnest suit, joined with the profession of the said religion, shall at length procure to us no good will of our Sovereign, without our meritings, and seeing it hath pleased to bless your Majesty with that most honourable title, to be (under God) Protectrix of the professors of the religion, and having in ourselves experimented your Majesty's gracious liberality in that behalf, can do none other in time of necessity, nor with thankful hearts for the past, and good hope for that shall come, than have recourse to your Majesty's accustomed bounty, which your Majesty vouchsafed in our extremity." — Keith, page 300.

husband (so I may now well call him) so high that yet they think themselves equal to the greatest, and able to attain to whatsoever they desire. To let the world understand that the Lords have some other pretence in their heads than religion, she seemeth now willing to make no alteration of religion, and thinketh that way to make the Protestants more odious to the rest, but she herself altereth nothing of her accustomed sort; and because my Lord Darnley would seem to be indifferent, sometimes he goeth with the Queen to mass; and these two last days hath been at the sermon. It is also said, that she will be married by a Minister. Your Honour may perceive how her promise is kept to the Queen's Majesty, that her marriage should be deferred three months, and nothing done therein before the Parliament, which now is prorogued to the first of September. These matters are thus guided by my Lord of

Lennox, my Lord Robert, and David*; other counsel she taketh little of any subject she hath.

"Mr. John Hay is sent to declare unto my Lord Murray, the Lord of Lennox and the Lord Darnley's good will towards him; and to purge them that any of them were ever consenting to have slain him, as was reported; and in that quarrel, my Lord of Lennox doth offer to fight with whomsoever doth dare avow it: whether it be true or not, that the Lord Grey should have done it, I know not. Shortly we shall know to what end these forces are assembled, and the Castle furnished; whither the Queen will retire, if she find herself not able to make part against such as are of the contrary party. My Lord of Lennox upon Sunday should have gone to Glasgow, but that purpose was altered because the other were too many in his way,

* David Rizio, who appears to have already possessed the Queen's intimate confidence.

and, indeed, would have fought, if he had held on his journey; in this state and case hath he brought himself, the Queen, and the whole country." *

During these cabals, Mary appears to have been distracted with love and fear; her suspicions of Elizabeth, and resentment to Murray. That she should be blind to Darnley's defects was impossible, since she even endeavoured to correct them; but whatever errors she might have detected in his understanding, she certainly suspected not the egotism of his nature, or the depravity of that heart, of which she flattered herself she was the supreme object. From infancy surrounded by flatterers, she had yet to learn, that the woman who is born to wield a sceptre, inspires ambition rather than love. Her beauty softened not Darnley's wayward temper; nor did her generous affections awaken in him corresponding tenderness. There

* Keith.

is a tradition, that even then he preferred to herself one of her ladies. That she had, at least, a rival in her crown, was evident from the avidity with which he solicited royal honors. No sooner was he made Earl of Ross, than he sighed to be Duke of Rothsay; and when it was announced to him, that he must yet wait for that dignity a few days longer, he aimed his dagger at the messenger who communicated the unwelcome tidings. But the Matrimonial Crown, that solemn acknowledgment of the States, by which Francis had been recognised King of Scots for life, was the grand object of his ambition; and even on the eve of marriage, after she had created him Duke of Albany, he passionately protested, that now or never it must be yielded to his acceptance.* Such a declara-

* On the evening preceding the marriage, the trumpet sounded through the streets, and during an hour at Mercat's cross; a proclamation was made, setting forth the Queen's intent to solemnize the band of marriage with the most illuster Prince Henry, Duke

tion should have alarmed Mary's caution, but she had already advanced too far to recede; the Pope's dispensation was obtained, the Cardinal's permission granted, the banns published (in the Kirk), Murray and his Lords summoned, on pain of being proclaimed rebels, to give attendance, and, finally, at half past six on the morning of the 29th of July, the ceremony was performed, by the Dean of Restabrig, in her own chapel; from whence Darnley, instead of accompanying her to mass, retired to pursue his favourite pastime of hunting. On returning to her palace, Mary, who still retained her black widow's gown, was importuned by her courtiers to

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of Albany. 'In respect of the which marriage, and 'during the time thereof, we *will*, *ordain*, and *con-* '*sent*, that he be styled King of this our Kingdom, and 'that all our letteris to be directed after our said mar- 'riage, in the names of the said illuster Prince and 'us, and King and Queen of Scotland conjointly.' Keith, p. 306.

It was for the States alone to make Darnley king for life.

lay aside that mourning garb, and, "*after* "*some pretty reluctance,*" says Randolph, "every gentleman was allowed to take out "a pin;" after which she retired to her chamber, where she was soon arrayed with suitable magnificence. How different were these from her former nuptials with the homely, but affectionate Francis! At the dinner the handsome Darnley appeared in royal robes, and, equally with Mary, was served by three noblemen, the Earls Cassils, Glencairn, and Eglintoun, who secretly grudged their attendance. The banquet was superb, but without the grace and elegance that had presided at Mary's former marriage; there was enough, however, of feasting and revelry: but as Murray and his lords were notoriously collecting forces, the Queen and her friends also prepared to take the field; and Darnley, willing to ingratiate himself with the people, in the new character of King, went in state to the High Church, where a gorgeous

throne was decorated for his reception. But, short-lived was the new Monarch's triumph, when the cynical Knox, with even more than wonted keenness in his eyes, expatiated pointedly on the misery of those realms, of which *women* and *boys* had the government! * To this vehement discourse, the haughty Henry listened with evident discomposure, till at length, in a frenzy of passion, he descended from his throne, marched out of the church, mounted his steed, and being too angry to eat his dinner, hunted during several hours, till his wrath had somewhat subsided in hunger. Such was the being to whom Mary Stuart had surrendered her liberty, and for whose sake she had offended her jealous nobles!

* This discourse, which well sustains the reputation of Knox for eloquence, is appended to his History of the Reformation.

CHAPTER V.

CAMPAIGN OF MARY AND DARNLEY.—ELIZABETH'S TREATMENT OF MURRAY.—CONSPIRACY OF MORTON, RUTHVEN, AND DARNLEY AGAINST RIZIO.

THE campaign of Mary and Darnley, though late begun, was soon ended. "The swash, the tabron, and the drum, were stricken through the streets," says Knox, "to raise recruits for the royal army." On the 26th of August, the two Sovereigns left Edinburgh: the lords retired before them: and in their progress to Calender, they met no other impediments than wind and weather, and want of money. Eager to evince to her subjects, that she inherited the spirit of her ancestors, Mary marched on*,

* According to Randolph, she wore for her defence armour under her dress, and carried pistols on her saddle.

"her courage man-like," says Knox, "always increasing."—By her side rode Darnley, in gilded armour; his father, the Earl of Lennox, led the van; the Chancellor Morton commanded in the centre: the King and Queen brought up the rear, accompanied by Parson Balfour of Flisk, David Rizio, and another Italian musician, called Francisco, and whose business, it may be presumed, was rather to amuse their friends than to terrify their enemies. Although Mary no longer confided in Lethington, whom she knew to be Murray's colleague, she missed his counsels, and was sensible, that her elder brother's place was ill supplied by the Earl of Athole, her husband, or his father; to supply whose obvious deficiencies, she associated with them the Earls of Huntly* and Bothwell; an arrangement, by which she is said to have

* The Earl of Huntly, the survivor of the unfortunate family of the Gordons, had been lately restored to his estate and dignity.

displeased equally Lennox and her captious Darnley, whose folly and perverseness already caused her more perplexity, than the whole realm of Scotland. Vain and presumptuous, the Earl of Lennox wanted wisdom, had he even possessed authority, to correct his son's imprudence; and by his mischievous adulation*, rather inflamed than

* Of this adulation, some idea may be formed by the tenor of the following letter from the Earl of Lennox to his son, King Henry, (indorsed to the King's Majesty):—

"Sir, I have received by my servant Nisbet, your natural and kind letter, for the which I humbly thank your Majesty, and as to the contents thereof, I will not trouble you therein, but refer the same till I wait upon your Majesty at Peebles, which shall be so soon as I hear the certainty of your going thither; and for that the extremity of this stormy weather causes me to doubt of your setting forward, therefore, I stay till I hear from your Majesty, which I shall *humbly* beseech you I may, and I shall not fail to wait upon you accordingly; this committing your Majesty to the blessing of God, and preserve you in health, long life, and most happy reign, your Majesty's most humble subject and servant, Mathew Lennox.

"I shall desire your Majesty to pardon me, in that

softened the spirit of the haughty youth, who incessantly importuned the Queen to extort from the nobles, a recognition of his rights to the Matrimonial Crown; without which the title of King was but an empty compliment. To allay his impatience in the first instance, and, perhaps, to fortify herself against her brother, Mary had caused him to be proclaimed King, and exacted for him the same reverence that was offered to her own person; but she, too late, perceived her error, and that she must either ruin herself, or resist his future encroachments. Exasperated by this proof of firmness, Darnley vented his spleen on all her confidential servants; even his old friend, David Rizio, incurred his displeasure, because he was still trusted by his mistress, and because it devolved on him, as secretary, to be the depositary of the cachet

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the writing is not of my own hand, for truly, a pain which I have at the shoulder is the cause thereof." — Keith, Preface, p. 7.

or seal, for impressing the King's signature, when he was absent on business or pleasure. In the bosom of a high-spirited susceptible woman, the discovery of Darnley's ingratitude, was in itself sufficient to inflict a cruel wound; but to this humiliation was added the detection of those vicious propensities, which could not be concealed from the world, and which must inevitably destroy respect even when they eradicate not affection.

The following is a sketch of Darnley's character four months after marriage:

"All people say, that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking. Tis certainly reported, there was some jar betwixt the Queen and him, at an entertainment in a merchant's house in Edinburgh, she only dissuading him from drinking too much himself, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words that she left the place with tears; which, they that are known to their proceedings,

say, is not strange to be seen. These jars arise, amongst other things, from his seeking the Matrimonial Crown, which she will not yield unto; the calling in of the coin, wherein they were both, and the Duke's (of Chastelherault) finding so favourable address; which hath much displeased both him and his father. Darnley is in great misliking with the Queen: she is very weary of him: and, as some judge, will be more so ere long; for true it is, that those who depend wholly upon him, are not liked of her; nor they that follow her, of him; as David Rizio, and others; some say, she likes the Duke better now than formerly; so some think, that if there should be the quarrel betwixt her and Darnley, which she could not appease, that she will use the Duke's aid in that affair. There also have arisen some unkind speeches, about signing letters: he, immediately after his marriage, signing first, which she will not allow of now. His

government is very much blamed, for he is thought to be wilful and haughty, and some say, vicious; whereof too many were witnesses, the other day at Inchkeith, with the Lord Robert*, Fleming, and such like grave personages."†

If the situation of Mary excited commiseration, her chagrins were somewhat softened by the hope which she was now permitted to cherish, of giving an heir to the ancient house of Bruce; but Darnley, far from regarding this circumstance with satisfaction, thought only of the humiliation he should experience, in the event of the Queen's demise, without that grand prerogative the Matrimonial Crown, which was to vest in him, during life, the sceptre of Scotland; yet, with an inconsistency that marks the excess of fatuity, he so little sought to conciliate the people

* Lord Robert, the Queen's brother, a notorious profligate.

† Letter from Sir William Drury to Secretary Cecil.

whom he aspired to govern, that he went openly to mass, and on Candlemas day joined the procession in the Queen's Chapel, and bore in his hand a lighted taper. His predilection for Popery, did not, however, prevent his listening to overtures from the Kirk party, for the accomplishment of his purpose; and it is a curious circumstance, that the agency of Murray (or his friends), who had formed the impediment to his marriage, was to be employed for establishing his authority. During the struggle with his sovereign, that nobleman, finding himself abandoned by all but the Duke and five other Protestant lords, had taken refuge in England, where, contrary to his expectations, Elizabeth, instead of approving his late exertions, hardly allowed him to approach her presence, and at Court publicly extorted from him, before the French and English ambassadors, an acknowledgment that she had neither aided nor abetted in his *abominable rebellion!*

After this humiliation, he withdrew to Newcastle, where, though privately supplied with money from Cecil, with whom he cultivated a private friendship, he no longer disdained to make concessions to his native Queen, and even stooped to purchase Rizio's favour, by the present of a diamond ring. * A more disinterested advocate appeared for him in Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whose remonstrances with Mary †, would have proved successful, but for the solicitations of her uncle, Cardinal Lorrain, the intrigues of the French and Spanish ambassadors, and, above all, the exhortations of the Pope (Pius the 4th), enforced by the donation of 800 crowns, which, however, never came into her possession. ‡

In this first conflict with her brother, Mary had triumphed, but never was victory

* Keith. † Melvil.

‡ According to Melvil, the ship being stranded on the English coast, its freight enriched the Earl of Northumberland. — Page 117.

more dearly purchased, and little did she understand the character of the Scottish nation, if she expected, with impunity, to bereave it of the chief, in whom the Reformers placed unlimited confidence, and who, having regained the favour of Knox, was hallowed in his daily prayers, and tacitly understood to be the object of that tremendous public fast, (ordained in this year), of which the Queen herself remarked, that it filled her with more dread than 'an army of ten thousand men.' Unfortunately, too, at this juncture, several noblemen resorted openly to the Royal Chapel, whilst the suspicion that Mary had acceded to the Catholic League, for the extirpation of heresy, kindled a secret discontent, of which the effects were soon to burst forth. To obtain the restoration of Murray was, however, the first object of the reforming party. That nobleman having been proclaimed a rebel, was cited to appear in Parliament, on a certain day, to

suffer the penalty of the law;—the confiscation of his estate being only deferred till his sentence should have been formally pronounced in that assembly.* To avert this stroke, it was contrived, through the agency of the Chancellor Morton, Murray's bosom friend, and his illegitimate cousin, George Douglas, to inveigle Darnley into a confederacy with the banished lords, and other malcontents, of which the ostensible pretexts were, to dismiss the Parliament, (especially convened for the condemnation of Murray), to put to death Rizio, as the Queen's adviser to harsh measures, and to procure for the King the Matrimonial Crown, vesting in him the exclusive administration. It has been pretended, that Douglas laboured, not unsuccessfully, to infuse into the King's mind certain suspicions, injurious to his wife's honour; but this appears to have been a slander, after-

* It is said his lands were already appropriated to new favorites.

wards circulated by the other conspirators, in order to throw on Darnley, exclusively, the odium of the transaction.

By whose agency the intrigue was originally formed, appears uncertain. It is generally ascribed to George Douglas, an illegitimate descendant of Angus, the father of Lady Lennox, who had lately become the associate of Darnley's profligate pleasures; by others it is affirmed, that the Chancellor Morton was the person who suggested to the King, that he ought not to remain in vassalage to a woman, who had solemnly vowed to him obedience. It was notorious, that both Morton and Maitland adhered to Murray, and that the former had resolved to desert his mistress, unless she consented to restore his friend; but, whoever instigated the crime, little persuasion appears to have been necessary to determine Darnley to adopt any means, however atrocious, to secure to himself that substantial power,

without which he considered Mary and the kingly title as unworthy of his acceptance; he, therefore, entered into correspondence with the banished lords, whom he promised to indemnify from the Parliament, and to establish their religion. In the original bond * of association, which both Darnley and Lennox subscribed, the assassination of Rizio is not mentioned, nor, in all probability, was his fate only sealed;—but his unpopularity furnished the young king with a colourable plea to disguise his baseness and ingratitude. That he was not influenced by a lover's jealousy, is obvious, since he shewed more eagerness to grasp the sceptre, than to avenge himself on the pretended paramour, in whose actual murder, according to the relation even

* In another paper or bond of assurance, subscribed by the King on the 1st of March, Rizio is specifically named, and others are alluded to, who should be punished according to their demerits.—See Goodall, 266.

of Lord Ruthven, the principal conspirator, he remained wholly passive.* Exclusive

* Certain Articles to be subscribed by James Earl of Murray, Archibald Earl of Argyle, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Earl of Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, and *other complices* of the noble and mighty Prince Henry King of Scotland, which they offer with all lowliness to the same Prince for whom they pray. The said Earls, Lords, and complices shall become and by the tenure thereof become true subjects and faithful servants to the noble and mighty Prince Henry King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady, that they and theirs shall take his part in all his *causes and quarrels*, against *whomsoever* it be, to the utmost of their power, and shall be *friends* to his friends, and *enemies* to his *enemies*, and therein neither spare *their lands, lives, or estates.* The said Lords and their complices shall, at the first Parliament that shall be after their return, grant, give, and ordain the *Matrimonial Crown* to the said noble Prince, all the days of his life. And if any person or persons withstand or gainsay the same, the said Lords, Earls, and their complices, shall take such part as the said noble Prince liketh, in all sorts whatsoever for obtaining the same: the said Earls shall fortify and maintain the said noble Prince in his just title to the Crown of Scotland, failing of succession of our said Sovereign Lady, and shall justify and set forward the same of their utmost, and if any man will usurp or gainsay the said just title, and the Lords shall defend the same

of the Queen's Chancellor, Morton, and Secretary Maitland, there were others of

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without *fear of life or death*, and shall pursue or expel the said usurpers. As to the religion established by the Queen's Majesty since her arrival into this realm, whereupon proclamation and edicts were made, that they and every one of them shall fortify and maintain the same of their utmost power, as they become true subjects to the said noble Prince, so shall they not spare life or limb in setting forward all that may. — From the Cotton Library.

Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the noble and mighty Prince, Henry King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady, to James Earl of Murray, Archibald Earl of Argyle, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, remaining in England. The said noble Prince shall obtain their remissions if they require the same, for all faults of whatsoever quality or kind and persevere in pursuing for the same till obtained, as soon as by their help and supply he obtain the Crown Matrimonial, and stop and impede that they shall not *be called or accused for whatsoever crime*, and freely remit and forgive the said Earls, Lords, and their *complices, all crimes of whatsoever* quality or condition they be, and to bury and put them in oblivion, as if they had never been; and they shall receive them at their return thankfully, as other true and faithful subjects and servants. Item, We shall not suffer the

her council engaged in the confederacy: Bothwell, Huntly, and Athole alone remained untainted. The Secretary was to prevent resistance to the King's party from the domestics; the Chancellor had corrupted the guards; Ruthven and Lindsay were to head the assailants. Of all the actors

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said Earls to be called or accused in Parliament, nor suffer any forfeiture to be laid against them, but shall stop the same to our utmost power, that the foresaid Earls returning into the realm of Scotland, shall use and enjoy their lands, livings, benefices, as before their passing into England, and fortify them in the enjoyment of the same against all persons to the utmost of our power. As to the said Earls (their religion), we are contented and consent that they use the same according to the Queen's proclamation made thereupon. And if any person or persons offer to make impediment therein, we shall take part of the aforesaid Earls to the utmost of our power: and after their return upon adhering and good service to be done to us, We, the said noble Prince shall consent, aid, and assist to the establishing of the religion now professed, and concur with them if any power shall withstand them. We shall fortify and maintain the said Earls against whomsoever in all their just causes and quarrels. — Keith, Appendix.

in this tragedy, Darnley was at once the most weak and wicked. Ruthven and Lindsay were inflamed with zeal for religion: Morton's treason was, in some degree, mitigated by his attachment to Mursay: even the ruffian Douglas planted not his dagger in the bosom of a confiding woman, to whom, by every tie of duty and humanity, he was bound to give protection.*

It was on Saturday, the 5th of April, 1566, two days previous to that on which the Parliament were to assemble, that Mary,

* See Keith, Appendix, p. 120, 121.—This and the following account are taken from the Relation written in Lord Ruthven's name, in 1566, intituled "A Discourse of the late Troubles that happened in Scotland, betwixt the noble and mighty Princess, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, and her husband, Henry, the King. As this discourse was written by Mary's mortal enemy, it cannot be suspected of partiality; yet even this statement furnishes no ground for imputation against her character. Even in the assurance subscribed on the 1st of March, David Rizio is merely stigmatized for bribery and corruption. — See Goodall.

now far advanced in pregnancy, was supping in a private apartment adjoining her bed-chamber, attended as usual by her sister Lady Argyle, her brother the Earl of Orkney, Areskine, Master of the Household, her physician, and Rizio; when suddenly was filled the court-yard with armed men, and the shouts of "A Douglas! "—a Douglas!" raised by Morton's followers, were loudly vociferated. Before the Queen could enquire the cause of the disturbance, Darnley, entering by a private passage, took his seat beside her; whilst, from the opposite door, several armed men rushed in; and, more conspicuous than the rest, the Lord Ruthven, who, though languishing under a hopeless disease, was impelled by fanaticism to devote the last remains of life to the perpetration of an atrocious murder.

At the sight of this dying man, whose wasted form was awfully contrasted with the fierce expression of his countenance,

Mary shuddered, but before she could demand the motive of his intrusion, he exclaimed,

"Let it please your Majesty that yonder "man, David, come forth of your privy-"chamber, where he hath been over-long."

The Queen answered, "What offence "hath he done?"

Ruthven replied, "That he made a "greater and more heinous offence to her "Majesty's honor, the King her husband, "the nobility, and Commonwealth."

"And how?" said she.

"If it would please your Majesty, he "hath offended your honour, which I dare "not be so bold as to speak of. * As to "the King your husband's honour, he hath "hindred him of the Crown Matrimonial, "which your Grace promised him; besides

* It is to be doubted whether Ruthven *said all* that is here ascribed to him, since the Queen in her letter to her ambassador in France alludes not to this insult, which she would have been most likely to resent.

" many other things which are not neces-
" sary to be expressed; and hath caused
" your Majesty to banish a great part of the
" nobility, and to forfeit them, that he
" might be made a Lord. * And to your
" Commonweal he hath been a common
" destroyer, hindring your Majesty to grant
" or give any thing but what passed through
" his hands, by taking of bribes for the
" same; and caused your Majesty to put
" at the Lord Ross for his whole land, be-
" cause he would not give over the lands
" of Melvin to the said David, besides
" many other inconveniences that he soli-
" cited your Majesty to do." Then the Lord Ruthven said to the King, "Sir, " take the Queen your wife and Sovereign " to you," who stood all amazed and knew not what to do.

" Then her Majesty rose upon her feet and stood before David, he holding her Ma-

* There appears to have been no foundation for this aspersion, afterwards repeated by Buchanan.

jesty by the plaits of her gown, leaning back over of the window, his dagger drawn in his hand; meanwhile Arthur Areskin, and the Abbot of Holyrood House, and the Lord Keith, Master of the Household, with the French Apothecary, and one of the Chamber, began to lay hands on the Lord Ruthven, none of the King's party being there present. Then the said Lord Ruthven pulled out his dagger, and defended himself until more came in, and said to them, "Lay no hands on me, for I will not be "handled." At the coming in of others into the Cabinet, the said Lord Ruthven put up his dagger, and with the rushing in of men, the board fell into the wall, meat and candles being thereon." *

During this terrific scene of confusion, Mary appears to have fainted, since she passively allowed Lord Ruthven to put her into the arms of Darnley, with an injunc-

* This circumstance is mentioned in Melvil's Memoirs, page 128.

tion, little to be regarded, that she should dismiss all her fears. In the meantime the conspirators, forcing Rizio from the window in which he still maintained his ground, hurried him, in spite of his piercing cries, into the Queen's chamber, where George Douglas, who had snatched the dagger from Darnley's side, inflicted with it the first wound, whilst a band of inferior ruffians eagerly dispatched their victim.

On recovering her senses, Mary, with admirable self-possession, desired the Earl of Morton, to bring to her, from David's chamber, the black coffer, containing cyphers, and writings connected with her foreign correspondence. In this instance she was obeyed, and now perfectly sensible that the outrage had been committed at Darnley's instigation, she thus indignantly addressed him:

"My Lord, why have you caused to do "this wicked deed to me, considering that "I took you from low estate and made

" you my husband; what offence have I " given you that you should do me such " shame?"

To this, according to Ruthven, Darnley replied*:

" I have good reason, for since yon- " der fellow, David, came in credit and " familiarity with your Majesty, you nei- " ther regarded, entertained, or trusted me " after your wonted fashion."

This insinuation Mary repelled with dignity: in conclusion, he retorted that since she had made him her husband she owed him obedience.

* In this relation, originally drawn up by Lord Ruthven, and corrected by Cecil, it was obviously the object of the writer, to represent Darnley as sole author of the conspiracy. Whether in the first instance it originated with Darnley, or with Ruthven and Morton, has always been disputed; but as there are some palpable falsehoods in this relation, it will hereafter appear to have been very doubtful whether Lord Ruthven or Darnley said so much of Rizio. George Douglas left in the body of Rizio, Darnley's dagger; but the King never left the chamber.

Without descending to altercation, Mary replied, " My Lord, all the offence that is " done me you have the wite thereof, for " the which I shall be your wife no " longer."

Here Ruthven exhorted her to submit to her husband, not perhaps without a secret exultation that, having himself been repulsed by her, she had such fatal cause to repent her imprudent choice; but whilst his stern countenance bespoke implacable hatred, he sunk exhausted into a chair, and entreating her Majesty's pardon, drank a cup of wine. With a look of mingled horror and disgust, the Queen exclaimed," Is " this your sickness?"

" God forbid that your Majesty had " such a malady."

" If I die or the Commonwealth perish," replied the Queen, " I will leave the re- " venge of my cause to my friends, to be " taken of you, Lord Ruthven and your " posterity; I have the King of Spain and

"the Emperor for my friends, also the King "of France, my good brother, with my "uncles of Lorrain, besides the Pope's ho-"liness, and many other Princes in Italy."

"Madam," replied Ruthven, "these "Princes are overgreat personages to med-"dle with so poor a man as I am, and if "any thing be done this night, which your "Majesty mislikes, the King your husband, "and none of us, is to be blamed."

Here a new tumult arose in the palace, occasioned by an effort of Bothwell, Huntly, and Athole, to expel the King's party. To appease this disorder, Ruthven, with renewed energy, left the apartment; when Darnley promptly announced the expected return of Murray and the banished Lords, with the repeal of their forfeiture; to which intimation Mary replied, that it was *not her fault* they had been banished so long, but to appease his discontent.—When Ruthven re-appeared, Mary enquired for Rizio, but received an evasive an-

swer; she next demanded how long such strict friendship had subsisted between him and Murray; and reverting to a former period, added, "Remember you what the "Earl of Murray would have had me do "unto you, for giving me the ring?"

"I bear no quarrel," said Ruthven, "for "that cause, but heartily forgive him and "all others; and as for that ring, it had no "more virtue than another, but was a little "ring, with a pointed diamond in it."*

"Remember you not, that you said it "had a virtue to keep me from poison?"

"It may be, I said that the ring had "so much virtue; but I take from you "that evil opinion of pre-supposition, that "you conceived the Protestants would "have done; since I know they will do "no more harm to your Majesty's body,

* In one of her sociable conversations with Knox, Mary mentioned Lord Ruthven having given her a ring; but added, "I cannot love Lord Ruthven, he practises necromancy;" and she was serious; so incurably was her mind infected with superstition.

KNOX.

" than to their own hearts. It was so im-
" printed in your Majesty's mind, that it
" could not be removed without a contrary
" impression."

" What offence or default have I com-
" mitted, to be thus treated?"

" Enquire of the King, your husband."

" Nay, I will enquire of you?"

" Madam, if it would please your Ma-
" jesty to remember, that you have for
" this long time, a number of perverse per-
" sons, and especially one David, a stranger,
" an Italian, who ruled and guided the
" country without advice of the nobility
" and council; and especially against those
" peers that were banished."

" Were you not one of my council? Why
" would you not declare, if I did ought
" amiss?"

" Because your Majesty would not listen,
" in all the time your Majesty was at Dum-
" fries; but whenever you called your coun-
" cil together, did things by yourself, and

" your privy persons: albeit, your nobility
" suffer the pains and expence."

" Well, you find great fault with me; I
" will be content to set down my crown
" before the Lords of the Articles*, and if
" they find that I have offended, to give it
" where they please."

" God forbid, Madam: but who chose
" the said Lords of the Articles?"

" Not I."

" Saving your Majesty's reverence, you
" chose them all in Seaton, and nominated
" them; and as for your Majesty's council, it
" hath been suffered to wait full long: and

* Dr. Robertson informs us, that " it was the business of the Lords of Articles to prepare and digest all the matters which were to be laid before Parliament; and that they not only directed its proceedings, but possessed a negative before debate. It should be remembered that a Scottish Parliament consisted of great barons, ecclesiastics, and a few representatives of boroughs; they composed but one assembly, over which the Lord Chancellor presided. According to the same historian, the prerogative of election resided in the Sovereign."

"what was done, it behoved them to say, it
" was your Majesty's pleasure, and the Lords
" of the Articles. Your Majesty first chose
" such as would say whatsoever you thought;
" and now, when the Lords of the Articles
" have sitten certain days, reasoning if they
" could find any principal cause why they
" should be forfeited? No, Madam, not so
" much as one point, except false witness,
" be brought against them."*

Here Lord Ruthven paused, perceiving that Mary had been seized with faintness, and, with some humanity, recommended Darnley to leave her to repose. They had no sooner withdrawn, than the new Sovereign issued his commands to the magistrates of the city, that none but Protestants should leave their houses; the next day he discharged the Parliament by proclamation. During this night of agony, Mary was heard to traverse her chamber in perturba-

* The Lord Ruthven's relation. — See Keith, Appendix.

tion, scarcely to be conceived. Whatever she had before suffered, or feared, sunk into insignificance: she was now a captive, imprisoned in her own palace, and by the connivance of that man she had so fondly loved. It was true, she might suspect that he had been the dupe of a faction hostile to her government: but small was the consolation to be derived from the conviction of his unparalleled folly. To what point the conspiracy tended, she neither knew, nor ventured to enquire. The terrible aspect of Lord Ruthven filled her with sinister forebodings; nor could she banish the impression, that he sought even her life. But terror did not deprive her of self-possession; and though debarred from all but one or two female servants, she contrived to transmit a message to Bothwell and Huntly, who promised to effect her deliverance; and having accidentally caught a glimpse of Melvil from her window, she took the opportunity by him to communi-

cate to Murray an assurance of unlimited pardon, on condition that he should preserve her life and liberty. But her surer hope was still with Darnley, who, though ashamed to enter her presence, at length approached, and finding her more calm than he expected, unfolded to her, by degrees, the history of the fatal confederacy. But this part of the relation ought to be given in Mary's own words, which, allowing for her agitation, appears to have been more conformable to facts, than the Lord Ruthven's statement.* Having described the attack on Rizio, she thus continues:

"After this deed, the said Lord Ruthven, coming again in our presence, declared how they and their complices were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable: how he was abused by the said David, whom

* The Lord Ruthven's manifesto was published in reply to Mary's statement, which was contained in the instructions transmitted to her ambassador in France.

they had actually put to death; namely, in taking his counsel for maintenance of the antient religion; debarring the Lords who were fugitive, and entertaining amity with foreign Princes; — putting, also, upon counsel the Lords Bothwell and Huntly*, who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself; that the Lords banished in England, were that morn to resort to us, and would take plain part with them in our controversy, and that the King was willing to remit them their offences. We all this time took no less care of ourselves, than for our counsel and nobility, to wit, the Earls Huntly, Bothwell, Athole, Lords Fleming, and Levingston, Sir James Balfour, and certain others, our familiar servitors, against whom the enterprize was conspier, as well as for David; and, namely, to have hanged Sir James; yet, by the Providence of

* The Queen's account may be compared with the conversation detailed by Lord Ruthven.

God, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly escaped at a back window, by some cords; the conspirators took some fear, and thought themselves disappointed in their enterprize. The Earl of Athole, and Sir James Balfour, by some other means, with the Lords Fleming and Levingston, obtained deliverance."*

"Our brother," Mary continues, "the Earl of Murray, that same day at even, accompanied by the Earl of Rothes, Pitarraw, Grange and others, came to us, and seeing our state, was moved with natural affection towards us; upon the morn he assembled

* The Queen adds: "The Provost and town of Edinburgh having understood this tumult in our palace caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, and communed with us; and to have known our welfare; to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely bosted by their lords, who, in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls." But this charge is disclaimed by Lord Ruthven.

the enterprizers of the late crime, and such of our rebels as came with him. In their council they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our Castle of Stirling, there to remain till we had approved, in Parliament, all their wicked enterprizes, established their religion, and given to the King the Crown Matrimonial and the whole government of our realm, or else by all appearance prepared to put us to death, or detain us in perpetual captivity."

How far Murray was really involved in the conspiracy is not very clearly ascertained. When he was introduced to the Queen by Darnley, she embraced him, exclaiming, "Had you been here, I should "not have been so treated." — At these words the Earl shed tears, which, perhaps, Darnley did not witness without emotion. Taking an arm of each, the unfortunate Mary walked in her apartment, supported by the husband who had usurped her authority, and by the brother who was here-

after to depose her. It was, however, some relief to her anguish, that she was in the custody of Darnley, who solemnly disavowed having instigated the murder of Rizio.

"That night," she continues, "we declared our state to the King our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, if he permitted the Lords to prevail; and how unacceptable it would be to other Princes, our confederates, in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire in our company to Dunbar. We being minded to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired, in quiet manner, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly to have prepared some way whereby we might have escaped; who, not doubting therein at the least, taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of our palace, in the night,

upon chairs, which they had in readiness to that effect soon after."*

According to this statement, the change which Mary had effected in Darnley's resolution, was rather the triumph of reason than of love. When he was convinced that the conspirators meant not to acknowledge his authority, he desisted from his pretensions, and exchanged forgiveness with his injured wife. The prejudices of education and religion, the pride of royalty, even certain latent feelings of parental affection, of which the most obdurate natures are not incapable — these various motives operated on his fickle mind, and he became as willing to abandon the Lords as he had been eager to seek their alliance. On reach-

* To this letter was added, in the Queen's own hand, " I beseech you, as soon as this shall come to hand, to communicate the contents to the Court, to prevent false reports from being circulated; and do not fail to impart it to the ambassadors." — Keith, page 332.

ing Dunbar, Mary issued proclamations denouncing the principal conspirators; who, having liberated Murray, had no better resource than to flee to England, and take possession of his quarters at Newcastle: In the course of a few months, however, all the nobles were pardoned and restored, with the exception of Lord Ruthven, who died in exile, of a malady which had been previously pronounced incurable.*

* In the relation of Lord Ruthven, we have the following account of the manner in which Darnley betrayed his colleagues: — "After supper, at six o'clock, the King coming down to his chamber, the Articles which were for the security of the Lords, were given to the King to be subscribed by the Queen; which the King took in hand to be done, and desired the said Lords to remove, that her Majesty's guards and servants might order all as they pleased. The Lords answered, You may make us do what you please, but 'tis sore against our wills, for we fear that all is but deceit that is meant towards us, and that the Queen will pass away shortly, and take you with her, either to the Castle of Edinburgh or Dunbar: and the Lord Ruthven protested, That what bloodshed or mischief should ensue thereon, should fall upon the King's head and his posterity, and not upon theirs.

"The King said he would warrant them all: so they parted and took their leave of the King, and passed all out of Holyrood House to the Earl of Morton's house, where they supped. And on the morrow, which was Tuesday, the 12th of March, the Lords hearing the Queen's Majesty with the King was departed, contrary to their expectation, after the matter was appointed, they required one another's opinion; which concluded, all to remain within the town of Edinburgh, till such time as they might send some nobleman to her Majesty, for performance of the Articles promised for their security; they sent for the Lord Semple, and desired him to pass to the Queen, at Dunbar, with the writing of the Lords, which he granted to do, and received the same with a copy of the Articles which the King received before, and promised to do his utter diligence to get them subscribed: who, coming to Dunbar, presented the Lord's writings to their Majesties: which was evil taken of the Queen, who made him to remain three days: who, at his return, reported that there was nothing to be looked for but extremities to all those Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, that were at the slaughter of David, notwithstanding her Majesty's promise. At that time her Majesty wrote to all Earls, Lords, and Barons, to meet her at Haddington, the 17th or 18th day of March, and directed her general letters, charging all men above sixteen to be at the said meeting in armour, with weapons, after the sort of war; and sent a charge to the Lord Ereskin, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, to fire on the town unless the Lords departed out of it.

" On Saturday, the 23d, her Majesty caused to summon the Earl of Morton, and the Lord Ruthven, with their accomplices, the Master of Ruthven, Laird of Ormiston, Warestone, Haltone, Everstone, and others, to appear before her Majesty, within six days, under pain of rebellion, and putting them to her Majesty's horn; which, before, hath never been used in Scotland, but newly invented by them that understood not law. And how her Majesty hath handled the Barons, and others our poor brethren at Edinburgh, and how they are oppressed by the men of war, God knoweth, who will put remedy thereto when He thinketh best; and how the Barons' wives are oppressed, by spoiling their places, and robbing their goods, it would pity a good heart: and whereas her Majesty alledgeth, that night that David was slain, some held pistols to her Majesty's breast, some struck so near her Majesty, that she felt the coldness of the iron, with many other such like things; which we take God to record, there was not one stroke in her Majesty's presence; nor was David stricken till he was at the farther door of her Majesty's outer chamber: and her Majesty maketh all these allegations to bring the said Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, and their complices, into great hatred with foreign Princes, and with the Nobility and Commons of the said Realm, who have experience of the contrary, and know that there was no evil meant to the Queen's body. The eternal God, who hath the rule of all Princes in His hand, send her His Holy Spirit, that she may rule and govern with clemency and mercy.

" Since the former division, the King hath revolted from the Queen to the Lords, and now is come to her again. The constancy of such a King I leave you to judge of."

Written in Berwick, the last day of April, 1566, by Lord Ruthven, who died a few months after.—Appendix to Keith.

Notwithstanding Lord Ruthven's complaints of the Queen's cruelty, it is a well-attested fact that only two obscure individuals (Scott and Yair) were executed for Rizio's murder.—See Arnot's Criminal Trials.

CHAPTER VI.

DISSENSION BETWEEN MARY AND DARNLEY.—MARY'S ILLNESS AT JEDBURGH.—DIVORCE PROPOSED.—BAPTISM OF JAMES.—DARNLEY'S ILLNESS.—RECONCILIATION WITH THE QUEEN.—DEATH.

The death of Rizio forms an important epoch in Mary's history. Convinced, by experience, how difficult it would be to maintain her government without Murray's assistance, she sought to detach him from Morton and his ferocious partizans, Ruthven and Lindsay—and, having signed a remission for his offences, declared her willingness to readmit him to favour, on the single condition that he should subscribe a bond renouncing enmity with the Gordons, the Earls of Argyle and Bothwell.

Destitute of political sagacity, Mary saw not how chimerical must be the hope to separate the interests of Murray and Mor-

ton, whom the late conspiracy had united in an eternal bond of friendship.

She flattered herself that Murray might be induced to coalesce with men his inferiors in talent and reputation, over whom he had long been accustomed to assert supremacy; she was not aware that in becoming more supple he was not less ambitious, and that the mortifications he had lately suffered must have rendered him not less aspiring, but more reserved and insidious. That the moral character of Murray was not improved by the lessons he had received in his banishment, appears from the caution and obliquity by which he ever after regulated his conduct. Discarding the manly language which had once justified his pretensions to patriotism and independence, he rather watched than reproved the *follies of his sovereign* *, and from an open enemy

* In Randolph's Correspondence we find that when Mary proposed to espouse Darnley, Murray openly protested against the follies of his Sovereign.

became a suspicious friend. With his new colleagues he could not long harmonize. The Earl of Argyle treated with brutality his sister; the Earl of Huntly was the representative of the Gordons, to whom, a few years before, he had proved implacable, and whose sister, the Lady Jean, a strict Catholic, had lately espoused the ambitious Bothwell, who, as a Protestant, refused, even at the Queen's solicitation, to be married in the Roman chapel.

The Queen had, however, presided at the nuptials with evident satisfaction. The active services which Bothwell had since rendered her excited her warmest gratitude; a sentiment that, in her bosom, was ever ardent and tenacious; to evince the lively sense she entertained of his loyalty, she vested in him the privilege of exempting from punishment many who had been implicated in the late conspiracy; an indulgence creditable to her clemency, but which inevitably led to the persuasion that the medi-

ator was the exclusive object of her confidence. The incompetency of Mary to govern by her own judgment was now well known; her propensity to favoritism alike notorious; and Bothwell, who in reality possessed talents superior to any of his party, naturally came to be considered as her prime counsellor. On entering Edinburgh Castle, in which she was to reside during her confinement, Mary gave a banquet to her turbulent Lords, who, in her presence, pledged themselves to live in amity and concord; but it was not for a woman's voice to silence the passions of ambitious men. Murray suspected Bothwell, and was himself hated by Huntly. Darnley detested the Queen's kinsmen, nor could he endure the reflexion that Murray, the object of his aversion, whom his influence had once banished, should, by his agency, be reinstated in power. To Bothwell he appears to have shewn neither friendship nor hostility. Although their fathers had been

unsuccessful competitors for the smiles of Mary of Guise; the years of Bothwell nearly doubled those of Darnley; their habits and manners were wholly dissimilar: the former, brave and turbulent, coarse and unpolished; the latter, more refined, but splenetic and vindictive. From his father, Bothwell challenged, by hereditary right, the office of Lord High Admiral, to which was now added that of Lieutenant of the Borders; an honourable, but perilous service, which had formerly been filled by the Earl of Murray, and which that nobleman was, perhaps, not displeased to see transferred to a dangerous rival. To himself was assigned the more important function of watching over his sister's personal safety; and, in the event of her demise, of lending protection to her infant heir; and as by this arrangement, Darnley, or rather his father, detected a resolution to exclude him from the regency, he relapsed into his waywardness and discontent. Although the sensibility of Mary's

temper was ill fitted to brook affronts or suffer wrongs in silence; she had never shewn herself to be vindictive, and had she been left to the dictates of her own heart, with the natural facility of her sex, might have suggested for Darnley a better excuse than he ever offered for himself; but surrounded by venal or factious courtiers, who fomented their mutual discontents, she lived in an atmosphere that envenomed the wounds which could only have healed in privacy and silence. In this, as in other instances, the injurer was implacable. It was in vain that Mary absolved her husband from the crime of Rizio's murder, and reiterated the assurance of forgiveness; by no condescension could she reconcile Darnley to himself, or screen him from public contempt; by no efforts obliterate the recollection of that treachery by which confidence was for ever destroyed. Young and susceptible, it was no trifling aggravation of her sufferings, that the outrage she had received was published through

Europe, with comments as mortifying to her pride as injurious to her reputation; nor could she, perhaps, help suspecting that she was at once an object of pity to Elizabeth, and of derision to Catherine de Medicis.

During an absence of five years, Mary's heart had not estranged itself from the Court of France; and she was still tremblingly alive to the judgment which it should pronounce upon her conduct.

To a woman of feeling, there is, perhaps, no humiliation so painful as to expose the errors of the man whom she has passionately loved. A sense of propriety had already rendered Mary anxious, that her ambassador should exonerate her husband from all voluntary participation in the murder of Rizio: and it is worthy of remark, that, in the following letter addressed to her aunt, Anne of Este, she scarcely alluded to the catastrophe. There was, perhaps, another motive for her silence. — The Duchess having written to submit to her a question of

importance to her future happiness, Mary had too much delicacy to obtrude her own domestic inquietudes. During the three years which had elapsed since the assassination of her husband, the Duchess had found an ardent friend in the Duke de Nemours, who now solicited her hand, with a promise of affording to her children parental protection. Although the Duchess was disposed to accept his suit, her delicacy was alarmed by an idle rumour, which certain Hugonot libellers circulated, that this Prince had long been her passionate admirer, and that she was the original of that nameless beauty for whom he exhibited a crimson livery. The surmise is rendered improbable by the tenor of Anne's domestic life; but she was jealous of her reputation, and it is evidently in reply to some scruple respecting propriety, that Mary alludes in the following epistle. *

* MSS. of Bethune. — Royal Library.

To the Duchess of Guise (Anne of Este.)

" My Aunt,

" I have received both your letters, one after the other. In that by Mauvissière, you evince for my sake, a sorrow for which I feel not a little grateful, having indeed had long and ample experience of the kind feelings you entertain for me; in which I may at least venture to affirm, you do not leave me behind you; — but quitting this pleasant theme, I have to tell you how completely, in a very short time, I have changed my character, from that of the most easily satisfied and care-chasing of mortals, to one embroiled in constant turmoils and perplexities, as you may have heard from the Secretary of my Ambassador, whom I understand to be at Paris: On this subject it will not be necessary for me to dilate; it would indeed be to wrong Mauvissière, who has received, on my part, true and faithful details of these transactions. And now, to

pass to other things — I learn from yourself and from my ambassador, what splendid offers you have received from the Duke de Nemours, which cannot be otherwise than advantageous to your children; and since it pleases you to communicate with me, as with one of your nearest relatives and friends, on a subject of such importance to your future prospects, I should deem it criminal to withhold my real impressions, little as any opinions of mine can be necessary to aid your judgment. — Assuredly, if I either saw or heard from others, an intimation of any thing that could operate to their prejudice or yours, I should not scruple to own it; but since, on the contrary, it appears to me that, by forming this connexion, you may reasonably hope to derive every possible good, and to be once more one of the happiest women in the world, I passionately desire it, and the more from the good wishes which I bear to the Prince, to whom you are about to be allied, and to whom I beseech you to

present my best recommendations. Embrace for me also *the darling*, and beg her to excuse me if I do not write till I am relieved from this burthen, which will not be till six weeks hence. I pray to God to arm me with constancy for that great trial.

"From the Castle of Edinburgh, this —* of May. "MARY."

Nearly at the same time, Mary addressed the following letter to the Duke de Nemours †:

"MY COUSIN,

"Though neither Mauvissière nor Monsieur l'Embassadeur has brought me any memorial, at least from your own hand, I cannot chuse but write by Jaques, your old servant and mine, to assure you that, though you may impart your good tidings to those who better deserve attention,

* The date is erased.

† MSS. of Bethune. — Royal Library.

you cannot find either relative or friend to whom the intimation of your happiness can be more acceptable. The bearer can testify I have little leisure to write during these troubles: You have already had a taste of such distractions, but it will here be far worse, unless God shall stretch forth his hand, whom I pray to bestow on you your mistress, with all the happiness you can wish for.

"MARY."

During her residence in Edinburgh Castle, Mary received an intimation so gratifying to her wishes as almost to atone for her previous sufferings; that in the event of Elizabeth's death, the chiefs of the two political parties in England were equally willing to acknowledge her title to the succession.* Cheered by these smiling auspices, she at length retired to the state chamber, which had been decorated for her reception

* Melvil's Memoirs, page 133.

during her confinement, with a tasteful magnificence never before exhibited within that ancient edifice. On the nineteenth of June was born James of Scotland, and never, perhaps, did the infant's first cries awaken such various and powerful emotions in a maternal bosom, as when Mary received the assurance that she had a living son to recompense her sufferings, to endear her to her subjects, to realise the dreams of ambition that had so long floated in her fancy, and, if one irascible feeling could have alloyed the transports of that blissful moment, to avenge her wrongs, and baffle her foes. In cherishing the child from whom destruction had been so wonderfully averted, she naturally indulged the hope that he was reserved for a splendid destiny. Anticipations of greatness and of glory mingled with the simple emotions of nature, and it was not only the woman but the Queen that triumphed. Little did she foresee, that, in Scotland, a son must inevitably become his mother's

rival; and that, in giving the nation a male representative of Bruce, she had lost her strongest hold on their future allegiance.

Even in the first transports of joy and national enthusiasm, the education of the Prince became a subject of anxious solicitude to her Protestant subjects; who, after having assembled in the High Church to return solemn thanks for her safety, unanimously resolved to insist that he should be nurtured in evangelical principles.

For this purpose a congratulatory deputation from the General Assembly, headed by the superintendant of Lothian, communicated to the Queen the prayers of her subjects that she would be graciously pleased to allow their Prince to be reared in the true faith. Unfortunately for Mary, she discovered not how much it imported even to her personal safety, to acquiesce in this demand; — more unfortunately still, she allowed herself to believe that, both in Scotland and England, the antient worship was

ultimately to be restored: the number of Catholics in both countries had lately augmented, and she well knew that in France, Spain, and Italy, a league existed for the extirpation of heretical principles. With these internal convictions, Mary scrupulously abstained from a promise, not only revolting to her conscience, but incompatible with her foreign engagements; unwilling, however, at such a moment, to cause displeasure to her subjects, without replying to the address, she ordered the infant Prince to be presented to the deputies, and with her wonted grace placed him in the arms of the superintendant. Charmed with this affability, the minister uttered a prayer for the babe's future honor and prosperity, and, at the conclusion, extorted from the child a certain responsive murmur, to signify that he pronounced, Amen. Mary, now in her turn delighted, with genuine expressions of maternal fondness thanked the minister, sportively calling him good Mr. Amen, an

appellation by which he was ever after distinguished. *

The birth of James afforded Mary a plausible pretext for renewing with Elizabeth the subject of her right to the succession, nor did this application, however unacceptable, prevent the Queen of England from consenting to become one of the sponsors to her infant son. In the meantime, his mother delighted to form for him an expensive establishment, consisting (exclusive of the only useful individual, his nurse) of a governor, a governess, and between thirty and forty officers and domestics, some of whom were musicians. The fondness which Mary showered on her son, might have renewed her affection for her husband, had she not been fatally convinced that he regarded her with the most mortifying indifference. Hitherto he had remained with her in the Castle, but dissension soon arose between them. Murray having obtained the Queen's pardon for

* Spottiswoode.

Maitland, who, for what reason is little known, was the object of Darnley's peculiar abhorrence. The Secretary, not having yet been admitted to the presence of his Mistress, it was agreed that their meeting should take place at Alloa, the residence of the Earl of Mar, whom Mary was about to visit, accompanied by the Earl and Countess of Murray, her sister the Lady Argyle, and her hospitable host, the Earl of Mar, whose wife was already the governess of the infant Prince of Scotland. With these friends and kinsmen Mary embarked on the Forth, in a vessel provided by Bothwell, who, in the character of hereditary Admiral, officially presided during the excursion.*

* Such is the foundation of Buchanan's anecdote of Mary committing herself to the protection of Bothwell and the pirates. Captain Blackadder commanded the vessel, and it is true that, when Bothwell's fortunes became desperate, he addicted himself to piracy. But no discredit attached to that officer at the period of Mary's embarkation: besides that she went in good company; and it is worthy of remark, that the female

At Alloa, the Laird of Lethington presented himself to the Queen, and was graciously reinstated in her favour. But the pleasure of this restoration was destroyed by Darnley, who, not chusing to sail in the same vessel with Murray, had overtaken the Queen by land. At the sight of Lethington his ill humour redoubled, and indignantly quitting the party*, he went back to Edinburgh. To that place Mary herself returned to meet the ambassador Mauvissière (de Castelnau) who, having arrived expressly to present congratulations on the birth of her

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friends with whom she most familiarly associated, such as the Ladies Argyle, Mar, and Murray, were of unblemished reputation. For the documents of Mary's excursion to Alloa, see Chalmers, page 181, 4to. edit. — Also Goodall, vol. i. p. 293.

* The calumny of Buchanan is also repelled by Mr. Chalmers with an unpublished dispatch of the Earl of Bedford, (extracted from the paper office,) specifically stating that a quarrel had arisen between Darnley and Mary on the subject of Maitland.

son, kindly interposed his good offices to effect a reconciliation between Mary and her wayward husband. *

That the representations of Castelnau had produced some impression on Darnley's mind, appeared from his comparatively rational conduct during six weeks, when he condescended to accompany the Queen and the Court on an excursion to Megotland, or Peebleshire, a district long celebrated for the delights of hunting; of which James the Fourth, and his successor had left many a romantic tradition. Although disappointed in the original object of their expedition, the discovery of game, the Royal party progressed to the Western Highlands, but little pleasure awaited them, when the admonitions of Castelnau ceased

* See Memoires de Castelnau, in which he states that the young King and Queen had quarrelled from mutual distrust and jealousy of power; and that Darnley was rash and unreasonable, and Mary Stuart ambitious and unsubmitting.

to be regarded; and the violence of Darnley's temper exasperated by disappointment, was perpetually rekindling domestic discord. Conscious that he had forfeited his title to respect, this miserable victim of egotism and arrogance, imputed insult and rudeness to all that approached him, or that possessed the Queen's confidence; and with perverseness, bordering on madness, directed his hostility towards her unexceptionable female friends, the Ladies Mar, Argyle, and Murray. * Wearied at length with incessant quarrels, he detached himself from the Court, retired to a private house, and positively refused to accompany Mary to Edinburgh. Left to himself, and to the undisturbed indulgence of his gloomy reflections, he devised a scheme that accorded with his morbid feelings, and promised him an exquisite though desperate

* See Earl of Bedford's Dispatch from the Paper Office in the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland.

revenge. This was no other, than to abandon his country, to wander like a desolate and proscribed being; only to publish his imaginary wrongs and inflict agonizing pangs on Mary's pride and delicacy. Whilst he was thus occupied, he received a visit from his father; who, though in general disposed to encourage his follies, was in this instance sufficiently rational to dissuade him from the enterprize. But wisdom loses its efficacy when administered to fools; and the Earl, finding his remonstrances unheeded, despatched a messenger to the Queen, announcing and deploring his son's determination. Within a few hours arrived Darnley himself to confirm the intelligence.

The behaviour of Mary and the conduct which was adopted by her ministers towards her husband, are well detailed in the following letter, addressed by the Privy Council to the Queen-Mother of France, which evidently bears the stamp of Maitland's able pen.

After the usual exordium of compliment, the writer thus enters on the subject.

"About ten or twelve days ago, the Queen, at our request, came to this town of Lisleburg, (Edinburgh.) Her Majesty was desirous the King should have come with her, but because he liked to remain at Stirling, and wait her return thither, she left him there, with an intention to go towards him again in five or six days; mean time whilst the Queen was absent, the Earl of Lennox, his father, came to visit him in Stirling, and having remained with him two or three days, he went his way to Glasgow, the ordinary place of his abode; from Glasgow, my Lord of Lennox wrote to the Queen, and acquainted her Majesty, that though formerly, both by letters and messages, and now also by communication with his son, he endeavoured to divert him from an enterprize he had in view, he nevertheless had not the interest to make him alter his mind. This project, he tells the Queen, was

to retire out of the kingdom beyond sea, and for this purpose he had a ship lying ready. The Earl of Lennox's letter came to the Queen's hands on Michaelmas-day, and her Majesty was pleased to impart the same to the Lords of her Council; and if her Majesty was surprized by this advertisement, these Lords were no less astonished to understand that the King, who may justly esteem himself happy, upon account of the honour conferred upon him, and whose chief aim should be to render himself grateful to her country, should entertain any thoughts of departing, after so strange a manner, out of her presence; nor was it possible for them to form a conjecture from whence such an imagination should take its rise. Their Lordships, therefore, took a resolution to talk with the King, that they might learn from himself the occasion of this hasty deliberation. The same evening the King came to Edinburgh, but made some difficulty to enter

into the Palace, by reason that three or four Lords* were at that time present with the Queen, and peremptorily insisted that they might be gone before he would condescend to come in; which deportment appeared to be abundantly unreasonable, since they were three of the greatest lords in the kingdom, and that those Kings who by birth were Sovereigns of the realm, have never acted in that manner towards the nobility. The Queen, however, received this behaviour as decently as was possible; and condescended so far as to meet the King without the palace, and so conducted him into her own apartments; and there he remained all night, and then her Majesty entered calmly with him on the subject of his going abroad, that she might understand from himself the occasion of such a resolution; but he would by no means give or acknowledge that he had

* The Earls Murray, Rothes, and Glencairn.

any occasion offered him of discontent. The Lords of Council being acquainted, early next morning that the King was going to return to Stirling, they repaired to the Queen's apartment, and no other person being present, except Monsieur de Croc, whom they prayed to assist with them as being here on the part of her Majesty, the occasion of their being together here was then with all humility and reverence due to their Majesties proposed, namely, to understand from the King, whether according to advice imparted to the Queen, by the Earl of Lennox, he had formed a resolution to depart by sea out of the realm, and upon what ground, and for what end? That if his resolution proceeded from discontent they were earnest to know what persons had afforded an occasion for the same. That if he could complain of any of the subjects of the realm; be they of what quality soever, the fault should immediately be repaired to his satisfaction. And now we did

remonstrate with him, that his own honour, and the Queen's honour, the honour of us all, was concerned; for if, without just occasion, he would retire from the place, and abandon the society of her, to whom he is so far obliged, that in order to advance him, she humbled herself and, from being his Sovereign, surrendered herself to be his wife; if he should act in this sort, the whole world would blame him, as ingrate and utterly unworthy to possess the place to which she had exalted him. On the other hand, that if any just occasion had been given him, it behoved to be very important, since it inclined him to relinquish so beautiful a Queen, and noble realm; and the same must have been afforded either by the Queen herself, or us, her ministers. As for us, we professed ourselves ready to do him all the justice he could demand. Then her Majesty was pleased to enter into the discourse, and spoke affectionately to him, beseeching him that since he would

not open his mind to her in private, according to her most earnest request, he would declare before these lords, where she had offended him, in any thing. She likewise said, that she had a clear conscience; that in all her life she had never done any thing that could prejudice his or her honor: but, nevertheless, as she might have given him offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require; therefore, prayed him not to dissemble.

"But though the Queen and all others, with Monsieur de Croc, used all the interest they were able, he would not own that he had intended any voyage, and declared freely, that the Queen had given him no occasion of complaint. Whereupon he took leave of her Majesty, and went his way, so that we were all of opinion, this was but a false alarm, the Earl of Lennox was willing to give her Majesty: nevertheless, by a letter, which the King has since

wrote to the Queen in a sort of disguised style, it appears that he still has it in his head to leave the kingdom; and there is an advertisement otherwise, that he is secretly proposing to be gone."

The Secretary continues, —

"'Tis true, that in the letter, he grounds a complaint on two points; one is, that her Majesty trusts him not with so much authority, nor is at such pains to advance him, and make him honoured, as she first did; and the other point is, that nobody attends him, and that the nobility desert his company. To these the Queen has made answer, that if the case be so, he ought to blame *himself*, and not *her*; for, that in the beginning, she had conferred so much honour upon him, as came afterwards to render herself uneasy—the credit and reputation wherein she had placed him, having served as a shadow to those who have most heinously offended her reputation. But, notwithstanding this, she has continued to shew

him such respect, that although they who did perpetrate the murder of her faithful servant, had entered her chamber with his knowledge, having followed close, and had named *him* the chief of their enterprize; yet would she never *accuse*, but did always *excuse* him, and was willing to appear as though she believed it not. And then as to his not being attended, the fault thereof must be charged upon himself, since she has always made an offer to him of her own servants; and as for the nobility, they come to Court and pay deference and respect, according as they have any matters to do, and as they receive a kindly countenance; but that he is at no pains to gain them, and make himself beloved, having gone so far as to prohibit those noblemen from entering his room, whom she had first appointed to be about his person. If the nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them, is the cause thereof; for if he desires to be followed and attended, he must in the

first place, gain their love, and for this purpose render himself amiable to them, without which, it would be difficult for her Majesty to regulate this point—especially to make the nobility consent, that he shall have the management of affairs put into his hands, because she finds them utterly averse to any such matter."*

At his departure from the Privy Council, Darnley had taken leave of Mary with these emphatic words: "Adieu! Madam. You "shall not see my face for a long space." To the lords he also bowed, and said, "Gentlemen, Adieu!" yet such was his vacillation, that the next day, he sent to the French Ambassador to meet him between Glasgow and Stirling, when he suffered himself to be almost persuaded to relinquish his purpose; and by degrees acknowledged, that he wanted to displace Secretary Maitland, the Justice Clerk, and the Clerk of the Register; and, as he ul-

* Keith, p. 329.

timately abandoned the enterprize of going abroad, it should seem that the only rational object of his conduct, was to compel Mary to new model her administration. Respecting the objects or the causes of Darnley's repugnance, the Lords of the Privy Council preserve a discreet silence. But their omission is supplied by Sir Robert Melvil, who frankly states that it was, "because the king could not obtain such "things as he sought, and chiefly the re- "moval of Maitland, and the ministers "above-mentioned, whom he alleged to have "been guilty in Rizio's murder, although "the Queen had acquitted him thereof." It appears not improbable that Darnley took this step partly to throw from himself the odium he had incurred in that transaction, and partly to deprive the Queen of an able statesman, whose talents must have fortified any administration; whatever resulted from his political views, he succeeded completely in rendering Mary the most miserable of women.

In the meanwhile, the queen prepared, in pursuance of a resolution formerly taken, to hold a justice ayre, at Jedburgh; at which her husband ought to have assisted. Nothing could be more rude and disturbed than the state of society towards the borders, where the great lords and their vassals equally spurned the restraint of laws, and the authority of the sovereign. The neighbouring districts had long been infested with banditti; to chastise whose insolence, Bothwell, the Queen's lieutenant, advanced from Jedburgh towards the Marches; where he was attacked by the robbers, severely wounded, and finally conveyed to a place called the Hermitage*, for recovery. This unlucky accident occurred on the 8th of October; on which day, the Queen, accompanied by the Earls Murray, Argyle, Rothes, Glencairn, and Huntly, had quitted Edinburgh; she arrived

* In Liddisdale.—The inhabitants of Liddisdale chiefly bore the surname of Armstrong.

at Jedburgh on the 10th, and immediately proceeded to public business. Proclamations had been previously issued, summoning the nobility and gentry of the country to her assistance; and also, to prohibit men from resorting to the Court in armour, or from offering to the citizens unseemly violence. It was not till the 16th, that the Queen, with her Officers of State, passed to Hermitage Castle, twenty miles distant, whether to confer with Bothwell on business, respecting the motives for the late outrage on his person, or purely as a visit of friendship and condolence; a respectful, and as should seem, well-merited acknowledgment of his loyal services, must be left to conjecture.* It is, however, not impro-

* From the circumstance mentioned by Mr. Chalmers, that a roll of papers was transmitted to Bothwell, on the day after this visit, by the Queen's order, it appears probable, that the visit was purely official. Be that as it may, the facts are very different from the account given even by Dr. Robertson, who, in this instance, incautiously followed Buchanan. That several days elapsed,

bable, since the Earl of Morton was, at that time, known to be in the neighbouring March of Cessford, that Mary, might be anxious to ascertain from Bothwell's lips, whether he ascribed the attack on his person to that nobleman's instigation. In Morton's behalf she had long been importuned by Murray, by Elizabeth, and Maitland, and, at a proper time, meant to yield to their solicitations; but the discovery of a new treason would have altered her proceedings; to ascertain the fact was, therefore, of importance. By whatever considerations Mary was induced to pay this visit, there appears not, (when calumny is discarded,) any specific ground for the suspicion that she then felt for Bothwell a warmer

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from the time when Mary became apprized of the accident, before she went to Hermitage Castle, is ascertained from the public Registers; which demonstrate, that she arrived on the 10th at Jedburgh.—See Keith, p. 351, 352. Birrel's Diary. Even Knox mentions her journey to Hermitage from Jedburgh, instead of Borthwick.

sentiment than friendship; in all her affections, Mary was ardent, and romantic, and though it should have been admitted that she had gone to Hermitage Castle merely to say one kind word to the loyal servant, whose blood had lately flowed in her service, she had, two years before, made a far greater effort to gratify a *female* friend, when she rode to Calender, to assist at the baptism of Lord Levingston's child, regardless of the danger which awaited her, from Murray and his party.*

Had her attentions to Bothwell been susceptible of a dishonourable interpretation, it is impossible not to believe that Darnley, in his late epistolary remonstrance, would have availed himself of such fair and legitimate grounds for complaint. The ride to Jedburgh had nearly proved fatal to Mary: exhausted with fatigue, consumed

* Keith, page 292. — This was previous to Mary's marriage with Darnley.

with vain regrets and unceasing solicitudes, she was the next morning attacked by a fever, of which the symptoms soon became alarming; and not only to her friends, but herself, her recovery appeared hopeless. At the moment, when the secret frailties of her soul were revealed in confession, Mary avowed nothing, which the most virtuous woman might blush to own, or to which the most rigid censor could impute reproach. There is a letter from Lesley*, Bishop of Ross, to her confident, the Archbishop of Glasgow, that minutely describes the progress of her malady, and her behaviour under the impression that her dissolution was approaching. He expatiates on her patience, her piety, and resignation; and, in what manner she conjured her nobles to watch over the education of her son, and to allow liberty of con-

* Lesley's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow. See Keith, Appendix.

science to her Catholic subjects. But the good Bishop, being well aware that his letter would be communicated to Cardinal Lorrain, prudently abstained from mentioning, that Mary had entreated Murray to assume the Regency; and that she bequeathed the guardianship of her son to Elizabeth. There is another subject introduced in this letter, that throws light on the embarrassments of the Queen's situation, and strikingly illustrates the mixture of bigotry and facility, of timidity and presumption, that struggled in her character. This refers to the arrival of the Pope's Nuncio, whom, to give dignity to her son's approaching baptism, she had rashly invited to Scotland, where it was utterly impossible he should be received, and where the intimation of such a purpose must inevitably have kindled sedition. To make an effort for his reception was, in Mary's eyes, an imperative duty too long neglected, for which she languished to offer

atonement. As she was, however, sensible that she had miscalculated in bespeaking the Nuncio's assistance at the baptism, where Elizabeth's ambassador was to be present; she had no alternative but to suggest a delay, little agreeing with her inclinations, or her professions; and by which she compromised her sincerity, without assuring her safety.

A letter from the aged Le Croc, the French Ambassador, confirms Lesley's details of her patience and resignation, and that she professed her readiness to exchange forgiveness with her enemies. It was long before Darnley came to claim the benefit of this general amnesty, and his neglect drew from Le Croc the qualified reproach, that if the King was aware of her state, he was without excuse. Finally, the King arrived; but as his visit was not prompted by love, it afforded no pleasure; and as he still disdained to conciliate the woman he had so deeply injured, he made a precipitate

retreat. In the meanwhile, Bothwell, now in a state of convalescence, repaired to Jedburgh, and had frequent conferences with his royal mistress, of which, according to Melvil, the restoration of the Earls Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, formed a principal subject.

Mary's recovery was rapid, and to recruit her strength, she ventured, even in November, to commence an excursion, she had long meditated, towards Berwick.* She was accompanied by Murray, Maitland, the High Sheriff, Bothwell, and eight hundred horsemen, who formed for her a cavalcade, not less royal than that of her grandmother, Mar-

* This excursion is curiously misrepresented by Buchanan, and the journal supposed to have been forwarded by Murray to Cecil, inserted in Anderson's collections. One of its insidious features is, that although Mary (as appears from various State documents, and Maitland's letter) was publicly accompanied, she is always mentioned as being with Bothwell only. The discrepancy in the spurious and genuine journals, is demonstrated by Mr. Chalmers. See Note (*d*), at the end of the volume.

garet. On being apprized of her approach, Sir John Foster, the Warden of Berwick, to avoid exciting suspicion of hostile intentions marched out with only three score men, who paraded before her on Halidon-Hill, where the English took leave with every mark of reverence and homage.*

In this excursion, although Mary could have had no clandestine interview with Bothwell, it is not improbable but that, as Melvil affirms, she privately apprized him of her intention finally to grant Morton's pardon, at the intercession of Elizabeth. Nor is it unlikely, that the schemes of ambition, afterwards so fatal to his Sovereign and his country, first rose to his mind during the deliberations of her ministers on the necessity of dissolving the fatal ties which Mary had contracted with Darnley. How far the Queen was conscious of their intentions is not known; but she returned to Craigmillar, overwhelmed with dejection. "I fear," writes the good Le

* Keith, page 253.

Croc, "she will still give us trouble— "the cause of her illness is deep-seated "grief—and she continually exclaims, '*I "would I were dead!*'——The King, "her husband," continues the ambassador, "came to visit her at Jedburgh; he re- "mained there but one single night, and "yet, in that short time I had a great "deal of conversation with him. He re- "turned to see the Queen about five or "six days ago, and the day before yester- "day he sent to desire to speak with me, "which I complied with, and found that "things go still worse and worse. I think "he intends to go away to-morrow; but in "any event I am positive, as I always have "been, that he will not be present at the "baptism. To speak my mind freely, (but "I beg you not to disclose what I say in "any place that might turn to my pre- "judice,) I do not, for several reasons, ex- "pect that any good understanding will "ever subsist between them, unless God "effectually put to his hand. I shall only

"name two: the first is, the King will "never humble himself as he ought— "the other is, that the Queen can't see "any nobleman speaking with the King, "but presently she suspects some con- "trivance among them."

December 1, 1567.

A propensity to suspicion was a weakness to which Mary had been subject from her early youth; she had learned, from fatal experience, to watch her husband's actions with distrust; nor was the result of her observations consolatory, since, if Knox may be credited, she had the mortification to discover in him a new treachery, that of writing to the Pope, to complain of her lukewarmness and mismanagement in the Catholic cause. Whether even Darnley was actually guilty of this last baseness, may perhaps be doubted; but if, by malicious misrepresentations, such an impression was produced on Mary's mind, the effect must have been equally injurious

to her peace. With so many sources of uneasiness, it is not surprising that she should consume hour after hour in sighs and tears, or that her declining health excited the apprehension, that like her father she was destined to die of grief. At length Maitland devised a scheme, which Murray appears to have sanctioned, and, one morning accompanied by the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Bothwell, repaired to the Queen's apartment, where, having expatiated on Darnley's flagitious conduct, the secretary suggested the expediency of a divorce, which he pledged himself to obtain, on condition that the Queen should restore to their estates and honours the Earls Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven. Her Grace answered, "That on two conditions "she might agree to the proposal: the "first, that the divorce should be made "lawfully, and that it should not prejudice "her son; otherwise, she would rather "endure all torments, and abide the perils "that might ensue."

The Earl of Bothwell answered, "The "divorce might be made without preju- "dice to the Prince, since he himself had "succeeded to his father's title and estate; "although he had been divorced from his "mother.

"It was also suggested that after the di- "vorce, the King should remain in one part "of the country, the Queen in another, or "that he should withdraw to a foreign land."

The Queen here said, "That perhaps he "would change opinion, and that it was "better that she herself for a time passed "into France."

Then Lethington rejoined, "Think ye "not, that we, who are of the chief of your "Nobility and Council, shall find means "that you be quit of him without prejudice "to your son? and although my Lord of "Murray be no less scrupulous for a Pro- "testant than your Grace for a Papist, "I am sure he will look through his fingers "thereto, and will behold our doings."

The Queen here answered decidedly, "I "will, that ye do nothing to spot my ho- "nour or conscience; and therefore I pray "you let the matter rest, till God of his "goodness find the remedy."*

It is difficult to develope the motives of Mary's refusal: had she secretly loved Bothwell, she would probably have embraced the means of liberty; and had she already embarked in a criminal intrigue, she would not have resisted the persuasions

* Extracted from the declaration of the Earls Huntly and Argyle, see appendix to Keith.—Anderson's Collections. To this declaration, which was presented at Hampton Court with the view of throwing on Murray's party the odium of Darnley's murder, the Earl of Murray gave in an answer. not denying the conversation alluded to, but protesting that he had never signed any bond, nor been accessary to any association for the King's death. But he denied not that the proposal for divorce was made to Mary at Cragmillar, which is thus established, even by Murray's testimony. It is curious to observe how completely Buchanan inverts the truth, when he pretends that the Queen and Bothwell began to talk of the divorce, but being repulsed projected the assassination.

of her paramour; if influenced alone by vindictive feelings, she sought her husband's life, she must have been sensible that when the nuptial tie was dissolved, he would be more easily assailable. Why then did she recoil from the proposal, unless she feared to compromise herself by endangering Darnley's safety, or that some sentiments of affection still lingered in her heart? It has been supposed, that she dreaded the censures which might be passed on her conduct in France; or that she feared to separate her interests from those of her husband, lest she should injure her title to the English crown. All these objections are valid when addressed to reason, but passion would have challenged stronger arguments.

It was in December Mary was thus scrupulous. Little could she then anticipate the reproaches she was to incur in the ensuing May.

Amidst all her perplexities, the Queen was indefatigable in her preparations for

the royal christening. Like all her family, she delighted in pomp and magnificence, and on the present occasion her pride was sanctified by maternal affection. At length the ambassadors of France, Savoy, and England being arrived she repaired to Stirling, where she affected to discard her cares, and to think only of adding lustre to the festival. The baptismal ceremony was performed according to the Roman rites, within her own chapel, which neither the Earl of Bedford, nor any protestant lords entered; the Countess of Argyle, who represented Elizabeth, and who carried the child in her arms, ventured into the idolatrous temple, a crime for which she had afterwards to undergo public penance in the kirk of Edinburgh. At dinner, where Mary presided with more than wonted grace, the Earl of Bedford, willing to compliment the nobility at the expence of their sovereign, expressed his thankfulness that only two of the lords then present had countenanced

the superstitions of Papistry*; a remark which Mary endured with her accustomed politeness, not perhaps without secretly felicitating herself on the absence of the Pope's Nuncio. With the English ambassador, came Robert Cary and many of Elizabeth's gallant cavaliers, on whom the Queen of Scots made a most favourable impression. A succession of masques and banquets followed, but in none did Darnley take a part; and whilst the Queen sparkled in the hall of Stirling castle, disguising in smiles an aching heart, her husband, who, had he consulted his dignity, would have removed from the town, still lingered in it, immured in a private mansion unknown, unhonoured, ashamed to meet strangers, afraid to seek friends, and with no other satisfaction than that of believing that, if he did not partake, he could

* Knox, page 440. — The Earl of Bedford brought from the Queen of England, a present of a font of gold valued at 3,000 crowns.

at least poison the Queen's triumph. Various causes have been assigned for an absence derogatory to the dignity of either party. Whether he feared the Earl of Bedford would not recognize him as King, or scorned to witness Mary's magnificence, or believed he should mortify her by his conduct, this at least is certain, that Darnley was no less miserable than Mary; and the following letter from the French ambassador, Le Croc, affords a striking illustration of the sufferings incident to royalty, as exemplified in the King and Queen of Scotland. *

December 23d.

"The christening of the Prince was so-
"lemnized on Tuesday last, when he re-
"ceived the name of Charles James; it
"was the Queen's pleasure that he should

* Buchanan pretends that the Queen would not give Darnley a suit of clothes. But Mr. Chalmers has ascertained by the Treasury books, that Darnley's expenditure was at least equal to that of Mary.—Quarto edition, vol. i. p. 186.

" bear the name of James together with
" Charles, after the King of France, be-
" cause, said she, all the good Kings of
" Scotland, his predecessors, who have been
" most devoted to the crown of France,
" were called by the name of James.
" Every thing was performed according to
" the holy Catholic church. The King,
" Lord Darnley, had still given out that
" he should depart two days before the
" christening: but when the time ap-
" proached, he gave no sign of removal;
" only, he still kept close within his own
" apartment. The very day of the cere-
" mony, he sent three times, desiring me
" either to come and see him, or to appoint
" the hour when he might come to my
" lodgings; so that I found myself obliged
" to signify to him, that since he was on
" no good terms with the Queen, I had
" been charged by the Most Christian King,
" to have no communication with him.
" And I caused him also to be told, that as

" it would not be proper for him to come to
" my lodgings, where there was a crowd of
" company; as he might understand that
" there were two passages in it, and that
" if he entered by one door, I should
" be constrained to go out by the other:
" nor can any good be expected from him.
" I cannot pretend to foretell how all may
" terminate, but this I will say, that matters
" cannot long remain as they are, without
" producing bad consequences. Of the
" Queen, he says, she behaved admirably,
" and shewed such earnestness to entertain
" the company in the best manner, as
" almost to forget her own sufferings."

Since the last rupture of the King and Queen, there had been no symptom of reconciliation; and, according to Le Croc, at this period, Darnley exhibited a more than usual degree of folly and captiousness.

In her private instructions to the Earl of Bedford, the Queen of England had judiciously advised Mary to resume towards her

husband the same demeanour she had shewn at their marriage; but at the same time she exacted of her that she should restore Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven; a measure which Darnley deprecated, and which so strongly excited his indignation, that without even saying, Adieu *! he quitted Stirling, and returned to his father's at Glasgow, regardless of the small-pox which raged in the neighbourhood, and of which he immediately caught the infection.

Although Mary had scorned to notice her husband's departure, she was uneasy respecting his future movements; nor was the return of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven calculated to tranquillize her mind. In a letter to her ambassador, the Archbishop of Glasgow, in France, she mentions having been alarmed by a rumour that the King and the Earl of Lennox were about to conspire with certain lords to crown the young Prince, and to shut her up for life: on investigation, this story was found to have

* Knox.

been a mischievous fabrication. And to the same pernicious source was traced another tale, importing that the Queen was about to put the King into ward; a calumny by which the Queen was much irritated, and which she seems to identify with certain ill-natured tales that Lennox and Darnley had circulated against her.

"For the King our husband," she continues, "God knows *always our part to-*
"*wards him*, and his *behaviour* and thank-
"fulness to us is semblablement well known
"to God and the world — especially our
"own subjects see it — and in their hearts,
"we doubt not, condemn the same,—always
"we perceive him occupied, busily enough,
"to have inquisition of our doings, which,
"God willing, shall always be such as none
"shall have occasion to be offended with,
"or to report of us any ways but honourably.
"Howsoever he, his father, and their fol-
"lowers speak, who we know want no good
"will to make us *ado*, if their power were

" equivalent to their mind; but God moder-
" ates their forces well enough, and takes
" means of the execution of their pretences
" from them, for as we believe they shall find
" *none or very few approvers* of their coun-
" sels and devices, imagined to our displea-
" sure or disliking: and thus commit you to
" the protection of God.

" Your right good mistress,

" MARY." *

At Edinburgh, the 20th Jan. 1560.

According to the date of this letter, it was written when Darnley was recovering from the small-pox at Glasgow.† On hearing of his illness, Mary had sent her own physician, and manifested towards him decorous attention. To find her conduct

* Keith's Preface.

† The nature of Darnley's malady was well known to many contemporary writers, both French and English, although even Dr. Robertson seems to adopt the extravagant calumny of Buchanan. By his late researches, Mr. Chalmers has, however, ascertained the fact. See note at the end of this volume.

misrepresented at such a moment, must have been peculiarly aggravating to her keen feelings; and to the Archbishop she scrupled not to avow her chagrin with an openness, which she would scarcely have indulged, had she anticipated the consequences of the association already existing against Darnley's life. After two days she set out from Edinburgh to visit her ungracious husband; a step to which she was probably prompted by regard to her reputation, and, it may be, by the counsels of perfidious advisers, who hoped to draw from it their own advantage. At Glasgow she found Darnley still languishing under the effects of his malady; no longer haughty and stubborn, but mild and penitent. Obduracy formed no part of Mary's character; her resentments were vehement rather than lasting, and when we recollect how much she was the creature of impulse, and how little of consistency appeared in her general conduct, we shall not find it incredible that, with her

wonted facility, she discarded resentment, for the present checked suspicions, and even lavished on him the most soothing attentions. In reconciling herself to Darnley, however, she scorned to dissemble with Lennox, who appears to have been the primary object of her displeasure; and to whose mischievous agency she, with reason, ascribed much of her conjugal infelicity. When Darnley was sufficiently recovered, she transported him from Glasgow to Edinburgh; where, to avoid the damp of Holyrood-House, he was lodged in a mansion belonging to the Provost, in the Kirk of Field, of which the air was esteemed remarkably salubrious. Though at some distance from the town, this house was not solitary, since the Archbishop of St. Andrews had a lodging in its immediate vicinity; and to dissipate any apprehensions that Darnley might entertain for his safety, the Queen herself slept two nights in the room underneath his apartment. On the day preceding his death, Morton and the

other lords were reconciled to him by the Queen's mediation. On that fatal Sunday, Mary left him at eleven to superintend a masque in the Palace, which was to be given in honour of a wedding. At parting, she embraced him, and took from her finger a ring, which she presented in token of forgiveness; a gratuitous treachery, if she was aware of his impending fate, for which it seems impossible to account.

At eleven, she quitted the house, which, three hours after, was invested with armed men, some of whom watched without, whilst others entered to achieve their barbarous purpose; these having strangled Darnley and his servant with silken cord, carried their bodies into the garden, and then blew up the house with powder, which had previously been disposed in the lower apartments. The explosion took place at two in the morning, and before three, the leader of the enterprize, Bothwell, repaired to the palace to announce the castastrophe,

which he coolly attributed to accident. At first the Queen seemed petrified with horror; then naturally recurring to sinister suspicions, she wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow to communicate the tidings, and to express her conviction, "that the same "stroke had been intended for both; and "that it was only by the especial provi- "dence of God she had escaped from "sharing the same fate."* According to custom she remained some days in a dark chamber, from whence she removed for her health to the seat of Lord Seaton†; but on returning to Edinburgh, she received Elizabeth's envoy, (Killigrew) in the same lugubrious state, so that, he

* This suspicion had in part been excited by the Archbishop himself; who, in a letter dated 27th of January, warns her of some conspiracy that was forming against her safety, and charges her to double her guards.

† This is very different from Buchanan's statement. See Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honour.—Keith.—Killigrew's Letter in Chalmers.

says, "he could not see her face — but "her voice was very doleful." In the meanwhile, Darnley's body had been embalmed, and buried, according to the antient rites, in the royal cemetery*: a solemn dirge was also sung for his soul; and a reward of 2000 pounds offered for the detection of the murderer. In the death of Darnley, abstractedly considered, there was nothing to excite surprize or regret; but the mysterious circumstances of this assassination, the silence, the secrecy, the cautious circumspection, so different from the daring spirit usually displayed in Scotland, created no less wonder than abhorrence. To discover the primary authors of the murder, became an object of universal interest; and, what is extraordinary, the enquiry has never terminated, since after the lapse of nearly three centuries, the

* Lord Traquair and the other Catholic nobles being present. — Lesley's Defence of Mary's Honour. — Keith, p. 368. — Birrel's Diary. — Yet Birrel was a puritan, and prejudiced against Mary.

subject still continues open to controversy. According to Buchanan, who wrote confessedly to sustain the interests of his party, (and with that vehemence which betrays a consciousness of having incurred reproach,) the assassination was planned exclusively by the Queen and Bothwell.—This explanation would be more plausible, had there been fewer persons engaged in the conspiracy. Vulgar ruffians might have been hired by an unprincipled noble to despatch the slighted Darnley;—a perfidious Queen might surely have employed the means of poison, so falsely imputed to Mary Stuart. Nothing could have been so ill contrived for concealment or deception as the actual arrangement. That a numerous and a powerful confederacy had existed to procure Darnley's death, (in which number were included those very men who afterwards became the Queen's accusers,) was a fact so notorious, that the Earl of Sussex, in a letter to Cecil, dated 1558, says,

" it was hardly to be denied."* Exclusive of Bothwell's intimate friends, the Laird of Ormiston, and Sir James Balfour, he was assisted by the kinsmen both of Morton and Maitland, of whom the former was afterward actually executed, the latter, formally accused, and on his own confession, virtually inculpated.† Of such men, Bothwell might have been the agent, or the associate, but the relative position of the parties precludes the idea of his pre-eminence. To suppose that so many powerful individuals coalesced, purely to gratify the base passions of the Queen

* Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii. p. 5.

† Archibald Douglas, the cousin of Morton, was actually present at Darnley's murder; and his servant, John Binning, (many years after executed for having been at and part in the same) deposed, that he had left one of his pantofles in the garden of the Kirk's field. (See the letter of Sir John Foster, in Chalmers.) Archibald Douglas was so strongly suspected of participation, that he remained many years in exile; but, at length, when his friends came to be in power, was, like Bothwell, put on a sham trial, purposely that he might be acquitted.

and her paramour is preposterous. Nor is it surprizing, that many English and foreign writers have adopted the hypothesis of Camden *, which traces the confederacy that destroyed Darnley to a deeper source, and a more important object, than the gratification of an unlawful love. From the moment of Mary's arrival in Scotland, the Protestant chiefs (as appears from Randolph's letters) had watched for an opportunity to establish the new kirk on a permanent basis. At the epoch of the Queen's marriage, Murray made an effort, which, by the lukewarmness of his partizans, or the jealousy of his rivals, was wholly frustrated. After the assassination of Rizio, a second attempt was rendered

* Camden is supported by Laboureur, in his Additions to Castlenau ; the latter better known in history by the name of Mauvissiere, was officially employed in many embassies to England and Scotland, and not partial to Mary Stuart. It is from materials and documents by him collected, and afterwards put into Laboureur's possession, that the latter derived his belief of her innocence.

abortive by the tergiversation of Darnley. On the birth of James, the ministers entreated that the young prince might be educated in the reformed faith. The Queen's rejection of this overture, her notorious bigotry, her suspected coalition with the implacable enemies of the reformation, filled with alarm a large part of her subjects; excited the speculative genius of Maitland, and the ferocious energy of those nobles, originally disaffected to her government. To prevent those future tragedies, which Lethington had long since predicted, no better means could be suggested than to secure to the young Prince a Protestant education, and to restrain his mother from contracting a foreign alliance. In achieving this object, the agency even of a Bothwell was not to be rejected; and the same nobles who should combine with him for Darnley's death, might concur in surrendering to him the person of their Queen, rather to guarantee the party than to recompense the assassin.

Camden ascribes to Murray the most criminal ambition; but, even were the charge proved against him, that suspicion cannot attach to Maitland, who appears to have been personally devoted to his sovereign; and to have embarked in this desperate enterprize, with the vain hope of averting from his country the horrors of civil dissension.

With regard to the Queen, although it follows not that she should be exonerated by the crimination of Morton and his confederates, yet, it must be allowed, that this fact materially vitiates the evidence by them adduced against her, and that those accusations ought to be received with distrust, that depend exclusively on their testimony.

It should also be recollected, that to include the Queen in the conspiracy, is to impute to her a degree of cruelty and perfidy revolting to her sex, and utterly inconsistent (calumny excepted,) with every other part

of her conduct and character. In reconciling herself to Darnley, she had regained his confidence, and renewed with him the conjugal charities. At such a moment, to have conspired against him was to descend to the most flagitious baseness; during three weeks to dissemble her hatred — to smile on the man for whose life she thirsted, must have required a cold-blooded hypocrisy, a systematic self-command of which in almost every instance, she seems to have been wholly incapable: young and susceptible, accustomed to abandon herself to the impulses of feeling; rash, impetuous, and vacillating, Mary Stuart appears not to have possessed sufficient strength of character to sustain the atrocious part, which her enemies have allotted her in this mournful tragedy; and, to say nothing of habits, feelings, or principles, her very weaknesses should lead us to acquit her.

CHAPTER VII.

MARRIAGE OF MARY TO BOTHWELL. — SURRENDERS TO MORTON AND THE CONFEDERATES, ON CARBERRY-HILL. — IMPRISONMENT AT LOCHLEVEN. — HER EXTORTED ABDICATION. — CORONATION OF HER SON. — ESCAPE. — BATTLE OF LANGSIDE. — FLIGHT TO ENGLAND.

After the death of Darnley, the events even of Mary's domestic life, become so closely interwoven with historical details, popularly known, that it is not without diffidence, the following brief account, chiefly derived from an author * who collected facts without inventing theories, is submitted to the reader:—

On the first announcement of Darnley's murder, the crime was attributed, with some

* Keith, to whom has been generally applied the title, rarely merited, of an impartial collector.

probability to Morton's agency; but, in a few hours, whether through treachery or indiscretion, the suspicion was transferred to Bothwell, and placards appeared on the Tolbooth, naming both him and his accomplices, among whom was Joseph, the brother of David Rizio; an answer was also published to the Queen's proclamation, in which Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, &c. were designated. Whether guided by these notifications, or his own surmises, the Earl of Lennox, in a correspondence* with the

* The correspondence is extant in Keith: — "On the "20th of February, the Earl writes to the Queen, to "thank her for her letter of condolence; and be- "seeches her to assemble the whole of her nobility, "in order that the authors of the iniquity may be "discovered. The Queen replies on the following day, "(the 21st) assuring him, she had already issued pro- "clamations for a Parliament, to be holden for that "express purpose. The Earl answers on the 24th, "lamenting that the affair should be so long delayed; "and praying, that the persons, whose names had "been affixed on the Tolbooth, should be immediately "prosecuted in the ordinary Courts of Justice. The "Queen again writes, on the 1st of March, that the

Queen, became very importunate for the prosecution of the murderers; in her answer, Mary professed to participate in his impa-

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" Earl had misconceived her meaning, inasmuch as she " had never wished for delay, and that the Parliament " were not to supersede the process in the Courts of " Justice; that, with respect to the Tikatt, affixed to " the Tolbooth, there were found on it names, many " and contrarious; but, if he should be pleased to " specify the culprits, they should be forthwith prose- " cuted." The Earl of Lennox replied not, till the 12th of March: ' My humble petition was, and still is, " ' that it may please you, not only to apprehend and " ' put in sure keeping the persons named in the " ' Tikatt, but, with diligence, to assemble the whole " ' of the nobility, and then, by open proclamation, " ' to require the writers of the said Tikatt to appear; " ' at which time, if they do not, your Majesty may, " ' by advice of your nobility, put to liberty the per- " ' sons in the Tikatt aforesaid; and for the names, I " ' marvel the same has been kept from your Majesty's " ' ear, considering it is so openly talked of: The Earl " ' of Bothwell, Master James Balfour, and Master " ' David Chalmers.' To this the Queen merely replied, " on the 24th of March, by promising, that the per- " sons accused should be immediately brought to trial. " On the 28th, an order was issued by the Privy " Council, for the trial of the Earl Bothwell, and " others, on the 12th of April." Keith, page 370.

tience, and, finally, at his instance, the Earl of Bothwell, and the other persons mentioned in the placards, were summoned, by an order of the Privy Council, to take their trial on the 12th of April. After this concession, the Earl expected that the culprits should be kept in custody; but the Queen and Privy Council refused to restrain them of liberty, on the grounds of an accusation originally derived from anonymous testimony. Mary's conduct, in this instance, was loudly censured; on the supposition of her innocence, it argues feebleness, and rashness; but on the presumption of her guilt it is wholly inexplicable, since consciousness should have suggested caution rather than boldness; and, even if she refused to imprison Bothwell, would she not at least, during a few days, have consented to banish him her presence? It should however be observed, that if she participated not in the conspiracy, she must have been persuaded of Bothwell's innocence, and

with that mixture of credulity and suspicion peculiar to her character, probably ascribed the charge to the machinations of certain enemies, who sought to deprive her of his faithful service. Of all her ministers, Bothwell alone had uniformly evinced his loyalty. The Earl of Murray had once manifested hostility to her government, and was Morton's sworn friend; — Maitland had shewn himself intriguing. Among the nobles, the Earls Rothes, Glencairn, and their adherents, had formerly joined the standard of revolt; — Ruthven and Lindsay, the objects of her terror and abhorrence, were again in Scotland.

Previous to Darnley's death, the Archbishop of Glasgow* had warned her of some

* To his honor, this prelate strenuously urged the necessity of a prompt and rigorous prosecution. In a letter, dated the 9th of March, he says: — "I can "conclude nothing but what your Majesty writes "to me yourself, that since it has pleased God to pre- "serve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof; that "rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to "me, better in this world that you had lost life, and "all. I ask your Majesty's pardon that I write so

imminent danger impending, and she appears to have connected her husband's murder with a conspiracy directed against her own person. Under this impression, she might have urgent motives for not restraining Bothwell's liberty, even independent of the partial friendship, which she frankly avowed, and which she ought to have known would be liable to sinister interpretation; but reason seems to have forsaken her, when she persisted, by treating him with her wonted confidence, to evince her contempt

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" far, but I can hear nothing to your prejudice, but I " must per force write the same, that all may come to " your knowledge, for the better remedy may be put " thereto. Here it is needful, that you forthwith " shew the great virtue, magnanimity, and constancy, " that God has granted you; by whose grace, I hope, " you shall overcome this most heavy envy and dis- " pleasure of the committing thereof, and preserve " that reputation in all godliness you have conquest " of long, which can appear no ways more clearly, " than that you do such justice as that the world may " declare your innocence, and give testimony for ever " of their treason that have committed it." — Keith's Preface, page 6.

of the accusation. It must however be recollected, that independent of the Queen, Bothwell commanded the talents and influence of the first men in Scotland. Maitland and Morton were now his confidants, as was Archibald Douglas, a kinsman of Morton's. The Lord Chancellor Huntly was his brother-in-law; even Ruthven and Lindsay were conciliated. By the Earl of Murray, he was treated with cordiality; and, after he had been publickly accused, met Killigrew, the English envoy, at his table. But when the time of Bothwell's trial drew nigh, the Earl departed from Scotland to France*; a prudent step, by which he preserved an exterior of friendship towards the queen, without compromising his reputation with Cecil and his English partizans, and embraced

* It has been pretended, that the Earl of Murray left his estate in trust to the Queen and Bothwell, but this palpably is erroneous; the countess his wife, remained in Scotland.

the opportunity of strengthening his interest with the Hugonot party. That at such a juncture he should have left his country and his sister, when she most required counsel and protection, seems inexplicable on any other supposition. In the meanwhile the Earl of Lennox, finding Bothwell inaccessible, applied to Elizabeth to obtain by her mediation a delay of the trial, which he had once desired should be precipitated. To Mary herself he addressed not this request till the eleventh of April, "when," says Keith, "though the Queen had been willing, "she could not have adjourned the Court." Neither does it appear in what manner an adjournment could ultimately have aided the Earl's cause, although it might have gratified his parental feelings, to fix the deeper stain on Bothwell's reputation.

On the 12th of April, arrived Elizabeth's messenger with a letter * from his mistress,

* See Drury's Letter to Cecil in Chalmers' Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 245. 4to. ed.

in which she urged on Mary the propriety of deferring the trial. After much difficulty, he found means to deliver his letter to Lethington, who dismissed him with a civil excuse; and at that moment, he observed a large party of cavaliers waiting to attend Bothwell to the Court of Justice. When that nobleman issued from the palace, he advanced between Maitland and Morton, followed by a train of gentlemen mounted on horseback, and 200 soldiers, who were cheered as they passed by mercenaries posted in the streets for that purpose. On reaching the Tolbooth, Bothwell found the Earl of Argyle (who was the Hereditary Lord Justice), the Earl of Huntly, with four assessors, ready to receive him. The Dittay being read, charging Bothwell with murder and treason, the accuser and accused were ordered to come forth. The Earl of Bothwell instantly obeyed; but instead of the Earl of Lennox, appeared his steward, Robert Cunningham, to protest in

his master's name against the proceedings, and to demand a farther delay on the plea of illness, and because he had not been allowed to bring with him a sufficient number of friends and assistants.* The Lord Justice, who appears to have been apprised of this subterfuge, immediately produced the Earl's former letters, in which he had demanded a speedy trial, and consequently decided, that the assize should proceed; during these formalities, Bothwell was observed to look melancholy, and the Laird of Ormiston, one of his guilty agents, whispered in his ear a caution not to betray himself by that conscious countenance.†

"You might look so, and you were going to the deed. Alas! and woe worth them, that

* On the very morning of the trial, the Earl was said to have been forbidden, in the Queen's name, from bringing with him more than six men; and the circumstance appears probable, considering that the trial was managed by Huntley, Morton, and Maitland.

† See the Confession of Ormiston, in Arnot's Criminal Trials.

ever devised it. I trow it shall gar us all mourn." To this Bothwell, who had previously shewn him a bond of indemnity, to which many lords had affixed their signature, replied, " Hold your tongue; I " would not it were yet to do; — I have " an airt gaite for it, come what may."

As neither witnesses nor proofs were produced against the culprit, the twelve peers had little difficulty in acquitting him of the charges *; and to atone for his mortification, they even declared him clear from suspicion of being in any way accessary to the murder: the assize lasted from twelve to seven in the evening †; and the

* According to Keith, the indictment was informal, being for the 9th instead of the 10th of April.

† " The Earle Bothwell was acquited by his peeres, " according to the common and ordinarie trade and " maner, in such cases usually observed. These un- " natural and disloyal subjects, these most shameful, " craftie colluders, her adversaries, and accusers, I " meane the Earle Morton, the Lord Semple, the " Lord Lindzay, with their adherents and affinitie, " especially procured, and with al diligence laboured

verdict of acquittal was, two days afterwards, confirmed by the Parliament, which declared the Earl Bothwell free from reproach.

The next day, Bothwell published a cartel, in which he challenged to single combat any who should dispute his innocence; and a week after, having invited to supper a party of nobles, he obtained their signatures to a bond recommending him as a suitable husband to the Queen their Sovereign. The Earl of Lennox had previously retired to England.* In the meanwhile the Queen consigned her son, with Stirling Castle, to

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" his purgation and acquital; which was afterward " confirmed by the Three Estates, by Acte of Parlia- " ment." — *Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honour.*

* Buchanan pretends that the Queen took this step in order to obtain for Bothwell the possession of Edinburgh Castle, which on that occasion was ceded to him by the Earl of Mar. But if Mary at this time contemplated the probability of her immediate marriage, she committed a great oversight in surrendering her son to Murray's kinsman.

the care of Murray's kinsman, the Earl of Mar; in whose custody he was to remain till he should have attained the age of seventeen.

In this instance only did Mary discover prudence; in every other she was swayed, as, unhappily, she had ever been, by her sympathies, her prejudices, her prepossessions; weaknesses not inexcusable in a young and lovely woman, but in a sovereign pernicious, and therefore culpable. Whatever sentiments she had hitherto entertained for Bothwell, it was evident she now placed in him implicit trust, and looked to him alone for counsel and protection: yet the pride of royalty was deeply rooted in her mind; and not only her ambition but her attachment to the antient faith forbade her to espouse a Scottish Earl, however brave and loyal, who would never forsake the sect whom his vices disgraced. The existence of the Lady Bothwell formed perhaps but a minor objection, so many other obstacles

opposed their union. But the ambitious Bothwell, who relied on the interest he had gained in her affections, and who had access to attendants, willing to encourage his presumption, having collected forces against the banditti in Liddisdale, intercepted the Queen at Almond Bridge, dispersed her retinue, and conducted herself, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melvil, to Dunbar Castle.

By whatever pretence Mary was induced to put herself in the Earl's power, she appears not to have made an effort to obtain her liberation; nor the next day, when Maitland and Melvil were dismissed, did she transmit any message to complain of her captivity. The ridiculous plea offered by Bothwell, for this outrage, was the necessity of his committing the offence of treason, in order that he might be acquitted of all minor trespasses. According to Mary's statement*, it was then that he first proposed marriage, supporting his

* Instructions to the Ambassadors in France.

pretensions by the bond to which the Nobles had affixed their signature. "She professes "to have been astonished at his audacity, "but that, on seeing the bond, she became "intimidated; and that, finally, reflecting "on the difficulties of her situation, she was "persuaded to yield a reluctant assent."* During the ten days that Mary was de-

* In his Defence of Queen Mary's Honour, Lesley says, "she did consent to that, to which those crafty "colluding heads and the state of the times did in a "manner enforce her." In her instructions to the ambassadors in France, Mary adds, "that during ten days "none came to her aid;" she is evidently impressed with the apprehension, that by her marriage she should endanger her reputation in France. It is worthy of remark, that she appears much less anxious to secure the good opinion of Elizabeth, to whom she merely states to her ambassador, that she found herself incompetent to the government of the realm, without a husband's protection. She praises Bothwell's valour, but never mentions his carrying her to Dunbar castle; and she even justifies her marriage with a man lately divorced from another woman, — a subject not even mentioned to her friends in France. In both memorials she intimates, that she is wearied and overwhelmed with the burthen of affairs; expressions which occur also in the instrument of her pretended resignation. See Keith, p. 491.

tained in Dunbar castle, Bothwell instituted a suit for divorce from his wife in the Bishop's Court*, on the grounds of consanguinity; whilst the lady herself sued for divorce in the Queen's Court, on the plea of adultery. On leaving Dunbar, the Queen was conveyed to Edinburgh, not to the palace but the castle, which was in Bothwell's possession. On the 12th of May, she declared before the Sessions House, that she was free, and that she consented to marry the Earl Bothwell; and the next day, actually created him Duke of Orkney. The history of this transaction affords one example of integrity strikingly contrasted with the conduct of those perfidious and venal nobles, who, without scruple, sacrificed the honour of their native Sovereign. The individual by whom they were opposed was John Craig, a popular preacher, who refused to publish the banns

* The Consistorial Court, lately re-established, at the earnest solicitation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

between the Queen and Bothwell, and even before the privy council maintained that the marriage was illegal and dishonourable.

In spite of his opposition the preliminaries proceeded, and finally, on the 15th of May, Mary was married privately in her own chapel, and publicly in the High Church, by the Bishop of Orkney. On this occasion no royal splendour appears to have been exhibited; there was neither ball nor banquet; no foreign ambassadors*, and few of the Catholic nobility attended; according to Melvil, who was present, the Duke of Orkney supped alone, the Queen having withdrawn to another apartment. From this moment the unhappy story of Mary becomes intricate, and almost inexplicable: instead of evincing for her husband that inordinate affection imputed to her by Buchanan, she was every day seen to weep,

* The absence of the French ambassador is obviously to be attributed to his not having received any instructions from his court; and probably, also, from the suspicion that the marriage, on the queen's part, was compulsory.

and once threatened to destroy her existence. According to the statement of Morton and his associates, she was treated by the execrable Bothwell as his hostage; and, to prevent her escape, sentinels were planted at the door of her chamber, which none but his creatures were permitted to approach.* There is little in this gloomy picture that accords with the violent passion to which she is supposed to have sacrificed every sentiment of honor and duty; perhaps the most wretched portion of Mary's whole existence was the month she passed with Bothwell, after her disgraceful marriage. Not daring to trust his late confederates, the Duke of Orkney attempted to draw the young Prince into his possession, believing that, under the title of Regent, he might secure that authority, which he foresaw would not be long vested in him as the Queen's hus-

* This fact was so notorious, that even Cecil, in his paper Contra Reginam Scotorum, admits it. See Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 101.

band. The Earl Morton and his friends, seizing this occasion, associated to raise the standard of revolt at Stirling, avowedly to protect the young prince, to revenge his father's death, and even to redeem from thraldom their injured Queen, whom they now declared to have been taken against her will to Dunbar, and to have espoused by compulsion the murderer of the late king.* By these plausible professions they gave to treason a gloss of loyalty, and drew to their party many who were either too cautious, or too scrupulous, to have openly patronized rebellion; whilst, with that bold decision which characterized all his movements, Morton led his troops towards Holyrood House, from which the Queen and Bothwell with difficulty escaped to Borthwick: from thence Bothwell withdrew to Dunbar, and Mary, who justly dreaded Morton and his colleagues, had no

* Melvil. — See also the Band of Association, in Anderson's Collections, vol. i.; and in Keith, p. 405. See the Answer of the Lords to Throckmorton; Keith, p. 418.

alternative but to follow, disguised in men's clothes, to Dunbar castle. From thence Bothwell circulated in her name a manifesto, disclaiming the imputations of their mutual enemies, and challenging the loyalty of her faithful subjects.

In the meanwhile, the confederates marched to Edinburgh, obtained possession of the castle from Sir James Balfour, and, in the name of the young Prince, advanced against their Sovereign. It was on the 16th of June that the two armies were confronted, the royalists being posted on Carberry-Hill, the confederates on the plain beneath; but, although Bothwell brought the Queen into the field, her presence inspired no enthusiasm. By their looks, the soldiers expressed disaffection; many were seen to retire, none seemed willing to proceed. In this embarrassment, Bothwell offered to fight any who should presume to charge him with the King's murder; but successively rejected several nobles who would have ac-

cepted the challenge. The French Ambassador, Le Croc, after an unavailing attempt to mediate between the two parties, returned to Edinburgh; and the Queen, perceiving resistance hopeless, desired to confer with the Laird of Grange, who solemnly assured her, that the confederates had not taken up arms against her, but Bothwell; and, that if she would forsake him, they should receive her with respect, and offer to her allegiance. After some hesitation, Mary replied, that she embraced the overture, on condition that Bothwell should be suffered to pass unmolested from the field. Kirkaldy having pledged himself for his safety, the Queen bade him, adieu! and having watched till he had cleared the lines, said, — "To you, Laird of "Grange, and to your honor, I render "myself." Kirkaldy conducted her with profound respect to the confederates, where (with that dignity, which never forsook her) she thus addressed them: "I come, my Lords, not that I fear for

" my life, not that I doubt of victory, but " because I abhor the shedding of Christian " blood, much more that of my own sub- " jects. I come, therefore, to be governed " by your counsels, trusting you will treat " me as your native Princess." The Earl of Morton received her with reverence, the soldiers with respect. — The march commenced; but, from Mary's manner, it was supposed, she anticipated a rescue. When they approached the capital, the multitude poured forth, not to relieve or even to commiserate her distresses, but to display before her eyes a bloody ensign, on which was represented, the young Prince kneeling and invoking vengeance on the authors of his father's murder. At this frightful image, Mary almost fell from her horse, and, bursting into an agony of tears, exclaimed, — " I am your native Princess! " descended from the blood of Bruce! " Treat me not thus!" Her appeal was unregarded. Even in the women, — her

dishevelled hair, her tears, her anguish, awakened no pity; and she proceeded, amidst loud execrations, till she reached the Provost's house, where she was lodged for that night.

The next day, in direct violation of their promises*, the confederates conveyed the royal captive to the Castle of Lochleven, of which Sir William Douglas was the possessor; and where, in addition to his mother, (that haughty dame, who never ceased to assert that she was the lawful wife of James the fifth,) were two other gaolers, the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, who had both been present at Rizio's assassination, the father of

* When Kirkaldy resented this perfidy, the Lords (says Melvil) produced a letter from the Queen to Bothwell, assuring him of her constant love; but this letter is not mentioned by other writers; neither, if it were authenticated, could it excuse the perfidy committed against her. Besides, the same Melvil assures us, that far from loving Bothwell, after her marriage she shewed for him terror and disgust; and that even at Carberry-Hill, when he offered to shoot Kirkaldy, she rebuked him with vehemence.

the latter having died in exile. To this prison arrived Mary, on the 18th of June — no longer attired as a Queen, but in a coarse cassock — her retinue reduced to a cook, an apothecary, and two female servants. *

Hitherto the confederates had not ventured to announce that which was their ultimate object, the Queen's dethronement: they professed to have taken up arms, to separate her from her husband's murderer; and to have placed her in confinement, only that they might be permitted to punish the delinquent; but, now that she was in their power, they proceeded to extort the surrender of her crown, — an act which to the Queen of England, and to the other Potentates of Europe, was to be represented as a voluntary abdication. In this well-concerted plan, it is impossible not

* History of James the Sixth. Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's honour. — Keith.

to recognize able statesmen, and profound politicians. The suffrage of the lower order had been previously gained by artful representations mingled with calumnies against the Queen's character; but the Lords were sensible that better proofs would be required to justify the violence committed and intended. It was on the 18th of June that they placed the Queen in Lochleven, and on the 20th they were so fortunate as to discover in Edinburgh Castle a casket*, for-

* "It is forsooth, a boxe of letters taken from one "Daighleysh, who was executed for the Lorde Darn-"ley's death, the Earles man, for sooth; whiche letters "he received at Edenborough of one Sir James Bal-"foure, to convey to his master; Thus say they, but "we say to you, as is sayd in Terence, Non sunt hæc "satis divisa temporibus. The very time, if nothing "else were, bewraieth you, and your whole cause "withal. Is it to be thought, that either the Earle "would send to the said Sir James, who had before "assisted the faction against the Quene with the force "and strength of Edenborough castle, and driven from "thence the very Earle himselfe, or that the said "Sir James would send any such thing to the Earle? "is it likely? is it credible? Had the forger and in-

merly the property of Francis the Second, containing letters supposed to be addressed by the Queen to Bothwell, which, whether spurious or genuine, were admirably calculated to give a plea of justice to illegal proceedings.*

Such a felicitous coincidence inevitably

" ventour of this tale, by seemely conveyance parted " and divided the distinction of his times? How say " ye? Whereas nowe it is in no case to be supposed " or conjectured that suche a wise vertuous ladie " would sende any such letters; yet putting the case, " that she had sent them, it is not to be thought, " that either the receaver thereof, or that she herselfe, " whome ye conceave to have sent them, would have " suffered them, for the hasarding of her estimation " and honour, to remaine undefaced, namely, seeing " there was a special mention made, and warning " given forthwith to burn them." — Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's Honour. — Anderson's Collections, vol. i.

* Without entering into the controversy respecting the genuineness of those letters, it may be fairly presumed that the circumstance of Bothwell's sending for the casket, first suggested the happy expedient of making it the depository of the Queen's secrets; for even admitting that she should have been vile enough

leads to the suspicion, that the confederates had anticipated the circumstance, and that, to them at least, this amatory correspondence contained no novelty. Fortified with these documents, the Earl of Morton instructed the Queen's gaolers to prevail on her to resign her crown to the infant James; but Mary, who too late recalled her dignity, passionately exclaimed, "Never, but with "my life will I part with the crown of my "ancestors." By the suggestion of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who in his letters

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to write the letters, and that Bothwell should have had the temerity to preserve them; was it possible that Mary should have suffered these memorials of her infamy to remain enshrined in the casket which she had given him as a token of regard? It is notorious, that Dagleish, the messenger, who is said to have been the bearer of this casket, was never examined on that subject; the whole story rests on the authority of the Earl of Morton, who professed to have received it from Dagleish. See this subject ably discussed in Tytler's Enquiry; in Whitaker's Vindication; Laing's Dissertation, prefixed to his continuation of Robertson's History; and recently in Chalmers' Life of Mary.

assured her that no compulsory abdication was valid, she at length yielded to necessity and the brutal menaces of Lord Lindsay; and, without glancing at their contents, affixed her signature to three deeds, in which she surrendered her rights to her son, and consigned the regency to the Earl of Murray, or if it should be by him declined, to a select council. When the sacrifice was completed, Mary dried her eyes, and, resuming her courage, wrote to the confederates, requesting to be removed to a more healthy spot, to be allowed the society of her ladies, and materials for embroidery, with which to beguile her confinement. The last of these requisitions only was granted; her removal would have been unsafe, to indulge her with companions was imprudent.*

Hitherto every effort of the confederates had been successful; but, till the

* She was however visited by Lady Murray.

young Prince should be crowned, they felt not secure of triumph. Even this difficulty was surmounted by the firmness of Morton, and his associates.* Deaf to the remonstrances of Throckmorton, who, on the part of Elizabeth, protested against her cousin's dethronement†, they convened the Barons, whilst the ministers *of the Evangile* wrought upon the affections of the people, and, finally, on the 29th of July, the infant, James, was crowned at Stirling; — where Knox, in preaching the coronation sermon, enjoyed the proudest triumph of his life.

It is natural to enquire in what manner

* The Lords Glencairn, Rothes, Semple, Hume, Mar, and Ochiltree.

† When Throckmorton applied for an answer to the demands of Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Morton answered, 'that shortly he should hear from them; but 'that day being destined to the *communion, continual* 'preaching, and *common prayer, they could not be ab-* 'sent nor attend to the matters of the world; for first 'they must seek the matters of God, and take counsel of 'Him who could best direct them.' — Keith, Preface, page xi.

that day passed with Mary, and how she survived the blow. It has been sometimes found, that a single passion more completely exhausts the faculties of human endurance, than a combination of calamities the most terrible and overwhelming. At Craigmillar, when the queen only suffered from Darnley's waywardness, she seemed hastening to an untimely grave; — during her brief union with Bothwell, she was almost driven to self-destruction; — but now, that all save life was lost, that, blasted in fame and fortune, she saw herself dispossessed of her crown, exiled from her friends, bereaved even of her child — she not only endured, but anxiously studied to preserve existence. It should seem, that a strong sense of injustice sustained her courage, and that hope was fostered by resentment.

The arrival of Murray was anticipated by each party with impatience. At his departure from France, he had pledged

himself to defend his sister's rights and honor. In England, he concealed his real intentions from Cecil and Elizabeth; even to Morton and his confederates, who, having achieved that which he would have scrupled to attempt, required him but to sanction their proceedings, he would give no definitive answer till he had visited his sister at Lochleven. That Mary continued to regard him as her friend was evident, from the cordiality of her welcome; although the Earls Athol and Morton were his companions. When Murray had before seen Mary in captivity, he wept*; but now, though torrents of tears fell from her eyes, she obtained from him no looks, no expressions of sympathy. Impatient of the restraint imposed by witnesses, she took him apart, and they communed together till supper; but he little answered her expectations — his reserve was impenetrable. After supper, she again challenged

* After Rizio's assassination.

a private interview, which lasted till midnight. The Earl then opened, but it was only to upbraid and intimidate. "He* "spoke to her" (adds Throckmorton) "as "her ghostly father, exhorting to patience "and repentance. The Queen wept bitterly: sometimes she acknowledged her "unadvisedness and misgovernment, some "things she did confess plainly, some things "she did excuse, some things she did extenuate. In conclusion, the Earl of "Murray left her that night, in hope of "nothing but God's mercy, willing her to "seek that as her chief refuge, and so "departed."

The next morning, when they renewed the conference, Murray finding Mary's spirit subdued, administered consolation, assured her of life, and pledged himself, if possible, to preserve her honour. Even for this promise she shewed gratitude, and

* Keith, page 445.

clasping him in her arms, conjured him, for her son's sake, to accept the Regency, and to preserve the kingdom from rebellion. "The Earl," says Throckmorton, "declared "many reasons why he should refuse it." The Queen, regarding him as less unkind than the confederates, persisted in her entreaties; and, finally, after a decorous resistance, he granted the boon, yet suppressed the satisfaction he secretly experienced. When the Earls Athol and Murray were about to take leave, Mary said, with touching pathos: "Of my severity, my Lords, you "have had experience, and of the end of it. "I pray you also, let me find that you have "learned by me to make an end of yours; "or, at least, that you can make it final." But it was not till Murray gave to Ruthven and Lindsay a parting injunction to treat her kindly, that Mary felt, in all its bitterness, that she was held in ignominious captivity by her own subjects, men notoriously criminal, and who had lately

sued to her clemency. For a moment, she yielded to this impression in an agony of tears; but, quickly resuming her composure, besought Murray to bear her blessing to her dear son. The next day she wrote to desire him to take charge of her jewels and other valuables.* With this requisition the Earl complied, and on the 19th, having formally accepted the Regency, took possession of the state-chamber in which the Queen in the preceding year had given birth to James.

It is not uncommon to see the unfortunate pass from the extremes of confidence to distrust, and Mary, who was at once credulous and suspicious, soon became acquainted with circumstances which for ever dissipated her illusions respecting Murray's friendship. In the ensuing Parliament, the Act of Resignation was produced, and would have been registered without examination,

* Murray afterward sent to Lochleven a large part of the Queen's wardrobe.

but that the Elders of the Church, not approving of this delicate reservation, demanded of the privy-council, why their sovereign was kept in Lochleven? and thus extorted a declaration of her having been convicted, by certain written proofs, of participation in her husband's murder. It is easy to detect in this procedure, the independent spirit of Knox; but, to have been consistent, when he demanded that the Sovereign should be amenable to the laws, he ought at the same time, to have challenged for her a public trial, instead of a private accusation.* Of Bothwell so little was known after the Queen's imprisonment, that he seemed almost forgotten; and so far was Morton from pursuing with his accustomed energy

* Mr. Chalmers adduces strong arguments to prove that the contents of the casket never were produced to the parliament; the facts of the letter having been written and received, was established on the unqualified testimony of the confederates. Thus Bothwell's previous acquittal, and the Queen's conviction, were conducted on principles equally arbitrary.

the murderer of Darnley, that he suffered him to remain till the 26th of June in Dunbar castle, and then gently summoned him to surrender the fortress; nor was it till several days after that Bothwell embarked for Murray, where he lingered several weeks under the protection of his uncle the bishop. From thence he departed to Orkney, where, being apprised that a squadron was fitted out for his interception, he was compelled to retake to his ships, one of which perished in a storm. To repair the loss, he boarded a Danish ship, and afterwards being captured by a Norwegian vessel, was conveyed to Denmark, imprisoned on the charge of piracy, and finally detained during life in rigorous captivity. After Bothwell's departure from Scotland, Captain Blackadder was tried and condemned for Darnley's murder, but persisted in declaring his innocence. Dagleish was also executed, as were Powrie, Hepburn*,

* See Anderson's Collections.

and several others, some of whom confessed their guilt, but positively denied the Queen's participation in their crime.

In the month of March, the Regent went again to Lochleven; but in this interview we hear of no tears, no tenderness. The Queen simply reminded him of the violation of his word; and then, it may be presumed, with some irony, entreated, that he would give her a husband, alleging that she should like to espouse his half-brother, George Douglas*, a youth of eighteen. The Regent parried the attack, by saying, that his brother was not of rank to match with her Grace.

A few days after this interview, Mary nearly succeeded in making her escape, disguised as a laundress. She had actually seated herself in the boat, when she was discovered by inadvertently raising to her cheek a hand of snowy whiteness. In a second attempt, planned by George Douglas, she was alike unsuccessful; and for his friendly

* Drury to Cecil, in Keith, page 469.

offices, that youth was expelled the castle, but not before he had secured to her interests another Douglas, an orphan boy, who had from infancy lived in the family, a poor dependent on the Lord of Lochleven.

Of any new enterprise, however, Mary was so little sanguine, that, on the first of May, (the eve of her deliverance,) she wrote to Catherine de Medicis * that she was watched night and day, the girls of the castle sleeping in her chamber; and that, unless the French King interposed, she should remain in prison for life. The next afternoon, William Douglas had the address to steal the keys from the hall in which Sir William and his mother were sitting at supper; the Queen being apprized of this circumstance, once more descended, with her maid, to the Lake, where a boat was waiting, into which they both entered, the maid assisting William in rowing; and as they approached the

* Laboureur's Additions à Castelnau.

shore, he flung into the Lake * the keys of the castle they had just quitted. Another coadjutor in this enterprize, was John Beaton, who held frequent communication with George Douglas; and, by his assistance, provided horses to be ready on the Queen's approach. Scarcely had she landed, when, by their care, she was mounted on a palfrey, and conveyed to Niddry, the seat of Lord Seaton; where, surrounded by friends, Mary might repeat with ecstasy, "I am "once more a Queen!" How often, in succeeding years of captivity, must the recollection of that rapturous welcome have imparted a momentary sensation of pleasure to her oppressed heart!

After a halt of three hours, she proceeded to Hamilton, where she solemnly revoked her compulsory abdication, and dis-

* These keys were found the 20th October 1805, and delivered to Mr. Taylor of Kinross, whose description of them will be found in the notes to the seventh chapter at the end of this volume.

patched a messenger to demand restitution of the Regent. Every moment was big with interest; the nobles promised allegiance; John Beaton was dispatched to Elizabeth, to solicit aid; native troops crowded to her banner, and, in a few days, 6000 men were assembled. But, unfortunately, there was no Morton to direct their movements; and whilst the Queen entreated to be conveyed to Dumbarton, the rash counsels of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who projected the Queen's marriage with his nephew, Lord Arbroath, precipitated the fatal battle of Longside. *

It is only for the imagination to follow Mary through the rapid vicissitudes, the conflicting emotions that twelve days produced. On the second of May, she had escaped from her prison; on the thirteenth, she witnessed the dispersion of the army so suddenly created, and fled, with precipitation,

* Near Kirkcudbright, in view of Solway Firth.

to Dundrennan Abbey *, from whence she directed her mournful eyes towards the English coast; and, peremptorily rejecting Archbishop Hamilton's advice to remain in Scotland, rashly resolved to throw herself on the friendship of Elizabeth. This design was no sooner formed than executed; and, without waiting even for the return of the messenger who had been sent to enquire whether she might remain in safety at Carlisle, she embarked in a fishing boat, regardless of the remonstrances, and even of the tears of her kinsman, of whom she took an eternal adieu. †

By her fatal precipitation, Mary missed the messenger who was actually journeying towards her from Elizabeth, with unlimited offers of service, on the single condition that no French troops should be admitted

* Dundrennan Abbey near Kirkcudbright in Galloway.

† The Archbishop of St. Andrew's was executed in 1573 for having been *arte* and *parte* in Darnley's murder.

into Scotland. It was on the 15th of May that she arrived at Workington, in Cumberland, accompanied by the good Lord Herries, and about twenty other attendants, among whom were the faithful William Douglas, and a companion of her childhood, the amiable Mary Seaton.

Destitute of money, clothes, or any appendage of royalty, Mary would fain have concealed the rank she could so ill represent; but rumour whispered her arrival, and she was soon surrounded by the neighbouring nobility and gentry, who, with great respect, attended her to Cockermouth, from whence she was afterwards conducted to the Castle of Carlisle. Her first impression of England was flattering; and had the sincerity of its government corresponded with the hospitality of the people, Mary would have had no cause to repent of her confidence. In justice to Elizabeth, it must however be observed, that by her first impulse she appears to have been prompted to receive the royal fugitive with sympathizing kindness;

whether alarmed by the example of successful rebellion, or touched with the distresses of royalty, she dispatched the Lady Scroop, and several other accomplished women, to the Queen of Scots, with assurances of friendship and commiseration. But, as Elizabeth never acted without the advice of her council, her feelings were soon checked by their cautious suggestions; and, foreseeing the embarassments that might arise from personal intercourse with the deposed Queen, she allowed Cecil to dictate the answer transmitted through the medium of Lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knolles. During their deliberations, Mary, without anticipating disappointment, exerted all her powers of captivation with her English friends, walked out to witness the popular pastimes, and, by her conversation, supplied an inexhaustible fund of amusement. Amongst her few Scottish attendants, were Lord and Lady Livingston, Lord Fleming, and the maid of honour before-mentioned, Mary Seaton, who excelled as a tire-wo-

man, and, every other day, contrived for the Queen a peruke of hair, "which, without expence," says Knolles, "sets off a woman, and makes her look gaily well." When Elizabeth's messengers arrived, they were ushered into Mary's *chamber of presence*. In describing the interview, Knolles, without wasting one word on her beauty, expatiates on her energy and eloquence.*

"We found her in her answers to have an "eloquent tongue and a discreet head; and, "it seemeth by her doings, that she hath "stout courage and liberal heart adjoined "thereunto; and, after our delivery of your "Highness's letters, she fell into some "passion, with the water in her eyes; and "therewith, she drew us with her into her "bed-chamber, where she complained unto "us, for that your Highness did not "answer her expectations, for the admitting her into your presence forthwith; "that upon good declaration of her inno-

* Anderson's Collections, vol. iv.

" cence, your Highness would either with-
" out delay give her aid yourself, to the
" subduing her enemies, or else, being now
" come of good will, and not of necessity
" into your hands, (for a good and greatest
" part of her subjects, said she, remain
" fast to her still,) your Highness would,
" at least, forthwith give her passage
" through your country into France, to
" seek aid at other princes hands; not
" doubting, but both the French King, and
" the King of Spain, would give her relief
" to her satisfaction. And here, she fell
" into discourses, that the cause of the war
" and disobedient treasons of these her
" subjects, was thereby to keep that which
" she had too liberally given them by
" violence; since, through her revocation
" whereof, when of full age, they could not
" enjoy the same by law; and withal (she
" affirmed,) that both Lethington and the
" Lord Morton were assisting to the mur-
" der of her husband."

Although Mary's eyes were now opened to the consequences of her rashness, she wasted the precious moments in eloquent invective and impassioned tears. It is true, she protested, that she would seek redress from every potentate in Christendom, nor reject it even from the Grand Turk; that she would rather die than submit to her rebels; that the Hamiltons should prosecute her claims in Scotland, and that she would even ruin herself to subvert Murray's government. But, after these ebullitions of passion, she consumed in negociation the time that should have been given to action, in addressing pathetic appeals to Charles the Fourth of France, and a spirited but unavailing remonstrance to the Queen of England. *

It is a pleasing trait of gratitude, that,

* In her letters to Elizabeth, she declares, that the nobility were all loyal, with the exception of Murray, Morton, Mar, Hume, Semple, and Glencairn.

in the bitterness of her own disappointment, Mary did not forget her obligations to young Douglas, whom she earnestly recommended to the French King, as the individual who had been most instrumental in effecting her deliverance.

"Beaton and Seaton," she writes, "have "done much, but Douglas more than any; "since, at the risque of his life, and to "the ruin of his fortunes, he rescued me "from the hands of my mortal enemies. "I beseech you," she continues, with a womanly feeling, "to shew, by some "public token of regard, that you feel some-"what obliged to him for my sake."

In her letters to the English Queen, Mary insisted on the injuries she had received from Morton and his confederates *,

* This assertion, so often reiterated, agrees not with Dr. Robertson's suggestion, that Mary had pardoned Morton exclusively through the intercession of Bothwell. Mr. Chalmers demonstrates, that it was rather to the influence of Murray than of Bothwell,

whom she had pardoned at Elizabeth's especial intercessions and appeal, to her sense of justice, whether she is not bound, in some degree, to repair the evils which she has innocently occasioned? In another letter, she solemnly disclaims the idea of disgracing her kinswoman.

"Alas, madam, and when was blame imputed to any prince, for listening in person, to the complaints of those whom calumny has outraged. Dismiss from your mind the idea, that I came hither to save my life, a boon, that no country, not even Scotland, denied me; think only, that I come to vindicate my honour, to gain support against my false accusers; not to explain to them as if we were of equal rank; since, I well know, they

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but still more to the representations of Elizabeth, that she made the concession. (See also Melvil.) The court of France had also recommended the measure. (See Keith's preface, page vi.) Dr. Robertson's mistake is derived from Buchanan.

"have violated the duty they owed me as "their native sovereign. To judge my "cause, I have chosen you, above all others, "as my kinswoman and best friend. In "making this election, I rather meant to "offer the tribute of homage, than to in-"flict the penalty of disgrace."*

By throwing herself on Elizabeth's protection, Mary had placed the English government in an awkward predicament. To espouse the Queen's cause, was to level a fatal blow at the Protestant party, which flourished under the Regent's administration. Totally to reject her suit, was to hold out to France a temptation to annoy England by invading Scotland.

In this embarrassment, nothing remained but to temporize; and whilst Sir Henry Norris was required to fathom the intentions of the French cabinet, Sir Francis Knolles was instructed to amuse the Queen of Scots, and to endeavour to obtain, by

* See Anderson's Collections, vol. iv.

persuasion, voluntary confirmation of the surrender of her crown, formerly extorted at Lochleven. To the honour of Sir Francis, his manly feelings revolted from the artifice; and he ventured to affirm, that it was far better to be an open enemy than a treacherous friend.

"And yet this lady and Princess," he "writes to Cecil, "is a notable woman; "she seemeth to regard no ceremonious "honour, besides the acknowledging of "her estate royal, she sheweth a dispo- "sition to speak much; to be bold, to "be pleasant, and to be very familiar; "she sheweth a very great desire to be "avenged of her enemies; she sheweth a "readiness to expose herself to all perils in "hope of victory; she desireth much to "hear of hardiness and valiancy, com- "mending by name all approved men "of her country, although they be her "enemies; and she concealeth no cow- "ardice, even in her friends. The

" thing that most she thirsteth after is
" victory; and it seemeth to be indifferent
" to her, to have her enemies diminished,
" either by the sword of her friends, or by
" the liberal promises and rewards of her
" purse, or by divisions and quarrels raised
" amongst themselves; so that for victory's
" sake, pain and peril seem pleasant unto
" her; and in respect of victory, health
" and all things seem to her contemptuous
" and vile. Now what is to be done with
" such a lady and Prince; or whether
" such a Princess and lady is to be
" nourished in one's bosom, or whether it
" be good to halt and dissemble, I defer
" to your judgment. If her Highness think
" it good to stay the coming in of the
" French into Scotland; if her Highness
" think any peril towards her; if her High-
" ness think any Princes and Potentates, or
" that any factious subjects may conspire
" against her; then, I am sure, she will
" think it good policy, roundly and plainly,

" to assist her own course, without colours " and cloaks, that hide no man's eyes but " those that are blind; and, surely, the " plainest way is the most honourable. In " my simple opinion, I take it an honour- " able quarrel for her Highness to expel the " French; and the easiest way thereto, is to " aid and countenance the Regent in time; " and if the spots in this Queen's coat be " manifest, the plainer and sooner that her " Highness doth reveal her discontent " therewith, the more honourable it will " be, I suppose; and it is the readiest way " to stop the mouths of factious murmuring " subjects." *

Sir Henry Norris having quieted Cecil's apprehensions respecting the interference of the French cabinet, concurred with

* Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. page 73. — In a subsequent letter, Sir Francis Knolles calculates, that if Mary were permitted to pass to France, she would be forced to spend her dowry; whereas, if she were detained in England, she would expend it in fomenting disturbances in Scotland.

Knolles, in advising that the Queen of Scots should be allowed free egress; but the secretary replied, that such was not the general opinion, and that for himself, he *found neither her continuance good, nor her departing quiet.** The conduct of Mary during this emergency was such as little justified the impressions she had given of her ability. Instead of returning to Scotland, where her partizans began to manifest considerable activity, instead of adhering to her first resolution never to advance beyond Carlisle, but for the purpose of seeing Elizabeth, she allayed her impatience by nominating the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Argyle her lieutenants in Scotland; solicited assistance from other Potentates, but still listened to Elizabeth; suffered herself to be conducted to Bolton Castle, the mansion of Lord Scroop, who was brother-in-law to the Duke of Norfolk; and, finally, consented to refer her disputes with her

* Cabala.

subjects to the arbitration of the English Queen.

With the late proceedings in Scotland, and the charges which had been brought forward against Queen Mary, every English gentleman was now familiar. The contents of the casket had been communicated to Cecil * and his partizans, before Elizabeth proposed to challenge Murray to answer for his usurpation of his sister's authority; promising, if he gave not sufficient reasons, that she would re-seat the Queen on the throne of her ancestors. Confiding in the justice of her cause, Mary was credulous

* In a paper dated June, Cecil sums up every thing that could be stated *pro* and *contrâ* the Queen of Scots. But he appears to have been perplexed in what manner to reconcile to Elizabeth's doctrine of the divine rights of sovereigns, the rendering Mary amenable to any human tribunal. To obviate the difficulty, he, at length, concludes, "that having made her husband king, he naturally became her superior; and that therefore she was to be held guilty if she should be found to have procured his murder."—Anderson's Collections, vol. iv.

enough to embrace the proposal; and commissioners were appointed on either side to support the interests of the disputing parties. But Mary little suspected, that with the exception of Norris and Knolles, all the members of Elizabeth's council concurred in voting for her detention, as a measure of political expediency; for which it was only necessary to discover a colourable pretext. Of the sinister intrigues, and vacillating factions existing in Scotland, a masterly exposition is given by Arundel, Earl of Sussex; in which, having premised that the matter must rest, either in declaring the Queen of Scots guilty, or by some compositions, with a shew of saving her honour, he observes, "that the first could "scarcely be attempted, since she might "deny the letters, *and accuse the most of* "*them, her accusers, of manifest consent to* "*the murder, hardly to be denied.* That the "uncertainty of the young King's life ren- "dered it advisable, even to Murray's fac-

" tion, to save her honour; since, in the " event of his death, they must either restore " her to the crown, or allow it to descend " to the Hamiltons, whom they detested: " that for these reasons, a composition was " desirable for both parties, by which the " Queen might reign jointly with her son, " whilst the Earl of Murray governed for " both." The Earl adds, " that even the " Hamiltons, who demanded her unlimited " restitution, were willing, (in respect of " her misgovernment,) that she should be " directed by a council of nobles, pro- " vided, that neither of them aspired to " supremacy, but that all were allowed " to govern in rotation." In conclusion, he says, pithily, — " Thus do you see " howe these two factyons for ther pry- " vate causes tosse betwene them the " crowne and publyke affayers of Scot- " land, and howe nere they be to agree " if ther pryvate causes were not; and " care nether for the mother nor the

"chyld, (as I thynk before God,) but "to serve ther owne turne. Neither will "Murray like of any order, wherby he "showld not be Regent styled; nor Ha- "milton of any order wherby he showld "not be as great, or greater in govern- "ment than Murray. So as the govern- "ment is presently the matter, whatsoever "they say was heretofore the cause; *and, "therefore, it will be good we forgett not "our parte in this tragedye.* Thus ferre "of that I have gathered by them; wher- "in, if they do not alter, I am sure I do "not erre. And now, touchyng my "opynyon of the matter, (not by waye of "advyse, but as impartyng to you what "I conceyve), I thynke suerly no ende "can be made good for England, excepte "the person of the S. Quene be deteyned, "by one means or other in England." *

As procrastination was the aim of the English government, it is not surprizing,

* Lodge's Illustrations of English History, vol. ii.

that though Mary had been removed to Bolton Castle, in July, the hearing of the Scottish cause was deferred till October, when the Regent arrived, accompanied by Morton, Maitland, the celebrated George Buchanan, and other able and intelligent coadjutors. On the part of Mary appeared many barons and dignified ecclesiastics; but with the exception of John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, not one man of high intellectual attainments. On the part of Elizabeth, appeared the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the commissioners appointed to hear the cause, and to communicate to their Sovereign the result of the investigation.

The history of the conferences of York and Hampton Court is well known, as is the political chicanery by which an affair of arbitration was converted into a sort of judicial process against the Queen of Scots. Originally Elizabeth proposed, merely to

institute an enquiry, on which to ground her pretensions for interference with the existing government of Scotland; alleging, that she could not justly impugn the Regent's rights, without giving him an opportunity to vindicate his conduct.

In the first instance, when the Queen's commissioners charged the Regent with rebellion and usurpation, the Regent replied, "that the confederates had taken arms to revenge the late King's death on the murderer Bothwell, whom her Majesty protected; that, to prevent her offering impediments to this act of justice, they had committed her to Lochleven, where she had voluntarily surrendered the crown to her infant son; and, that in accepting the government which she had abdicated, they were neither rebels nor usurpers."

To this the Queen's commissioners replied, that if she had incurred blame in marrying Bothwell, who had been tried

and acquitted of her husband's murder, she had acted by their advice *; since, they could not deny, but that they had subscribed the bond, recommending him to be a suitable husband; that she had consented to renounce him when she surrendered to them on Carberry Hill; that so far from having impeded justice, she had been

* By a letter from Elizabeth's commissioners, at York, October, 1568, it appears, that the Regent caused the evidence against Mary to be privately submitted to the Duke of Norfolk and his colleagues; and, that at the same time they produced a copy of the bond, declaring Bothwell clear from suspicion, and recommending him to Mary as a proper husband; to which the most part of the lords and counsellors of Scotland had put their hands. In admitting this fact, however, they protested, that they subscribed not out of liking, having procured a warrant from the Queen to indemnify them for so doing. When we recollect how little power the Queen possessed, it appears extraordinary that she should have so coerced almost the whole nobility of Scotland. The commissioners add, that a contract of marriage had been shewn them between the Queen and Bothwell, dated before his purgation. It is almost needless to state, that this contract is, by the Queen's advocates, pronounced a forgery.— Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. page 39.

herself treated with indignity, and finally consigned to a prison in Lochleven, where, to save her life, she had, by compulsion, subscribed that deed, by virtue of which they pretended to usurp her government; that the punishment of Bothwell was palpably a mere pretext for the outrage they had committed, since, during many months, they had taken no steps to bring him to justice; and finally, had permitted him to escape to another country. As these charges were substantiated by facts which could not be denied, the Queen's cause was evidently triumphant; but, as during the enquiry, schemes of composition were agitated, neither party accused the other of Darnley's murder. On Mary's side this forbearance was owing to a secret treaty with Maitland, who now favoured her cause, and hoped under certain restrictions to restore her to the government. In her previous conversations with Scroop and Knolles, she had repeatedly designated

Maitland and Morton as the authors of her husband's murder; and authorized her commissioners to charge them with the fabrication of the spurious letters; but now that the latter was willing to become her friend, she naturally abstained from an attack that must have alienated him from her interests. At the same time, a subordinate intrigue was carried on with the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Maitland * suggested, that by marrying the Queen of Scots he might unite England and Scotland in perpetual amity, and secure the establishment of the Protestant religion. The proposal was communicated to the Regent, who affected to enter into Maitland's views; and in conformity with the Duke's advice, promised to be careful of his sister's honour. In the meanwhile this clandestine correspondence having transpired, the confe-

* If Maitland had really a share in the fabrication of those letters; he must have been prompted by personal interest, to propose the marriage with Norfolk.

rences were transferred from York to Hampton Court; where, under Cecil's superintendance, the Regent suffered himself to be persuaded to produce the documents contained in the casket, without which he had no colourable excuse to offer for his usurpation of the government.

On the papers extracted from this casket, was founded the complex charge of adultery and murder; in proof of which, the confederates produced a series of amatory letters, addressed to Bothwell before Darnley's death, and alluding to circumstances connected with that event; to these were appended some miserable French verses, (which the poet, Ronsard, pronounced spurious;) and the depositions of certain domestics of Bothwell, who had been convicted, on their own confession, as agents of his crime; from one of which only was any evidence extracted to prejudice the Queen of Scots: and it is proper to observe, that the deposition of this last

witness, an illiterate man, who could neither read nor write, was marked with an incongruity, that must inevitably excite distrust; since, though no living witnesses were produced to attest the improper conduct of Mary Stuart, she was made to receive and transmit familiar messages to Bothwell by a menial domestic. To corroborate the letters and confessions, was appended a journal of the Queen's proceedings, (attributed to Buchanan's pen,) and transmitted by Murray to Cecil; of which, the gross inaccuracy and wilful misrepresentations can now be demonstrated *; but which it suited the policy of the English ministers to receive as authenticated truth. Of the letters, it had been previously argued by the Earl of Sussex, that they were not admissible as judicial evidence †; yet that

* Mr. Chalmers adduces strong evidence, that this confession is a forgery.

† See the document at the end of this volume, extracted from Chalmers' Life of Mary.

nobleman in common with the other commissioners, upholding the policy of supporting Murray's government, decided without any adequate investigation, that the letters addressed to Bothwell were genuine, and that consequently the Regent was justified in his usurpation. How far this declaration agreed with internal convictions must be left to conjecture; but it seems evident, that the Duke of Norfolk, who resented Murray's accusation of his sister, and had himself been persuaded of her innocence, was rather swayed by his fears than his feelings, when he subscribed to the opinion of his confederates. During this process Mary became sensible of the oversight she had committed, in submitting to a political inquisition; and by advice of Lesley, hastily revoked the powers vested in her commissioners, imperatively demanding to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence. This proceedure has been much blamed; but was, according to the Bishop of Ross,

the only resource left to shield her royal dignity from degradation; yet, when pressed by Elizabeth to reply to the Regent's allegations, she pledged herself to disprove them, provided she were allowed time and opportunity to collect evidence, and procure witnesses in her defence; and, as a preliminary, demanded to see the originals or duplicates of the letters and sonnets ascribed to her pen. Although this equitable demand could scarcely be disputed, Elizabeth annexed to it the whimsical condition, that Mary should previously give a written promise to reply to every article of the Regent's accusation. To this Lesley objected *; and Elizabeth, or rather Cecil, having attained the object for which the enquiry was actually instituted, that of having elicited sufficient matter against the Queen of Scots, to gain time, with a view to her ultimate detention, no longer pressed the subject; finally, the English commissioners

* Queen Mary's Register, Goddall, page 305.

declared "that nothing had hitherto been "deduced against the Regent and his ad- "herents, that may impair their honour or "allegiance; and, on the other side, nothing "sufficiently produced nor shewn by them "against the Queen their sovereign, for "which the Queen of England should "conceive evil opinion of the queen her "sister for any thing yet seen;" and with this nullity the enquiry terminated. It was however stipulated, that the Earl should return to England whenever the Queen of Scots should return a specific answer to his charges. In the mean time, he was dismissed with honour, and a gratuitous loan of 5000*l.* *, avowedly to maintain peace between the sister kingdoms. Whilst Mary, the original complainant, whom neither threats nor blandishments could induce to ratify her extorted abdication, was consigned to the care of the Earl of Shrews-

* See Rymer's Federa, tom. xv. page 677.

bury *; whether in conformity to Cecil's principle, that she ought to be treated as a prisoner of war, or to the advice of Sussex and the other privy counsellors, that she should be detained in England, it is evident she was devoted to captivity, not for any real or imaginary crimes, (since by the English government all judicial rights were disclaimed,) but for the security of England, and the promotion of the protestant cause in Europe.

* Previous to his departure from England, Murray renewed the subject of his sister's marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, through whose intercession he obtained from Mary an injunction to her partizans, to suffer him to pass without molestation along the borders. In return for this concession, Murray promised to co-operate with Maitland in promoting the Duke's objects, and professed his willingness to concur in his sister's restoration. See Appendix to Goodall, vol. ii. page 305.

CHAPTER VIII.

A SKETCH OF MARY'S RESIDENCE IN ENGLAND.

THE commencement of Mary's captivity in England was accompanied by some circumstances of mitigation, and even of comparative enjoyment. During her residence at Bolton Castle, she had been exhilarated by agreeable society and smiling prospects; and although the unsatisfactory issue of the conferences destroyed her confidence in Elizabeth's friendship, she discovered new resources, with which to resist her enmity. In Scotland, her party had gained strength; since exclusive of the Duke of Chatelherault and Lord Herris, the Earl of Huntly in the north, the Earl of Argyle in the west, openly espoused her cause; whilst the genius of Maitland secretly worked for her restoration to the sceptre of

her ancestors. For the tergiversation of this able statesman, various motives have been assigned, but, abstracted from political considerations, his inclination to serve the Queen was cherished by his wife, the amiable Mary Fleming, who had been the companion of her childhood, and could not remain insensible to her misfortunes. Disgusted with Morton, and slighted by Murray, who was gradually assuming the insolence of authority, the fertile mind of Lethington * devised a fantastic scheme of coalition between Mary and the infant James; which, without abolishing the regency, was to vest in his mistress the ostensible sovereignty.

Even in Maitland, the maintenance of the Protestant kirk, and the league with England, took place of every other object; and,

* See in Anderson's Collections, called by Cecil a Device of Lethington's.

effectually to preclude Mary from contracting any foreign alliance, he engaged Lesley, the Bishop of Ross, to promote the marriage treaty with Norfolk; to which the Queen at first evinced indifference, or rather aversion. The Duke, like herself, had been thrice married, and his eldest son was nearly of her own age; but though neither young nor susceptible, Norfolk inherited the ambition of the Howards, and without having ever seen the woman, conceived an ardent passion for the Queen. Lesley, the patron of the scheme, was a zealous Catholic, and faithfully devoted to the cause of his unfortunate mistress. Like his contemporary, Buchanan, he was eminently distinguished by his classical attainments; and composed, in the Latin language, his "Annals of Scotland;"* a work which was consequently familiar to learned men in

* See Lesley's Negociations, in Anderson's Collections, vol. iii.

every country of Europe. But his "Defence of Queen Mary's honour," which appears to have been little more than an expansion of his statement during the conferences at Hampton Court, was written in English; * and could therefore but imperfectly counteract the impression produced by her eloquent calumniator, Buchanan. The private character of Lesley commanded respect: equally sincere in his political and religious principles, he consumed twenty years of his life in strenuous, though often injudicious, efforts, to restore his Sovereign to the throne, and to reclaim her subjects to the faith of her ancestors. In the sequel, his enterprizing spirit seduced him into complicated and dangerous schemes, by which her cause was rather injured than promoted; nor can it escape detection, that the Catholic champion predominated over

* In publishing this defence, Lesley did more for Mary's vindication than could have been effected by a renewal of the conferences at Hampton Court.

the loyal subject; and that a blind zeal to sustain the supremacy of Rome, sometimes led him to recommend measures more likely to irritate the suspicions of Elizabeth, than to relieve the distresses of her ill-fated rival.

It must, however, be admitted, that, having anticipated the ultimate views of the English Queen and her ministers, Lesley naturally became eager to embrace any means, however desperate, that promised the termination of Mary's captivity. In spite of the assurances reiterated at Hampton Court, that the Queen of Scots was to be considered as a free Princess, her removal from Bolton Castle in the depth of winter, without regard to her health or inclination, established the fact, that she was in future to be considered as a state prisoner.

It was in January, 1568, that Mary arrived at the castle of Tutbury, from whose aspect she recoiled with impressions of

disgust, which were somewhat softened by the presence of her faithful friends, Lord and Lady Livingston, Mary Seaton, and a junior Livingston; nor, to a heart susceptible as her's of attachment, could it be a matter of indifference, that in her reduced train of domestics she saw many faces long familiar to remembrance*, —the experinced Raulet, her French secretary, and the gallant William Douglas, her juvenile protector. In the family of her new guardians might be discovered the epitome of a court, with all its concomitant suspicions and intrigues, venal spies, and domestic discords. Naturally liberal and courteous, the Earl of Shrewsbury was united to a woman whose imperious and crafty temper constantly embittered his existence. This lady, perhaps the most complete shrew in Britain, had been thrice

* Thirty in number. See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii.

married * before she captivated the noble George Talbot; and, by her former husband, Sir William Cavendish, she had a daughter, who traced her descent to the female line of Henry VII. To a late period, she preserved her personal attractions, and that ascendancy she had originally established over her facile husband, whose feelings were as often wounded by her sordid habits† as his quiet was disturbed with her captious arrogance and pretended jealousy; vices originating exclusively in the love of power, without one redeeming quality of female tenderness or dignified integrity.

To propitiate this lady was of importance to the Queen of Scots, who having learnt enough of human nature to address

* She had first married a commoner; then a knight, who made her lady St. Loe; next a baronet of most antient family; and lastly, a peer of the realm.

† Of her talents for management and economy, there is an amusing example in her letter to the Earl, published in Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii.

herself to its baser propensities, readily sacrificed to the Countess a part of the jewels which had been transmitted to her from Scotland. For a short time the expedient succeeded; but the rapacity of her new hostess was insatiable. The suspicious Elizabeth employed her as a spy on the fidelity of her own husband; and, incredible as it may appear, the Countess, either to increase her consequence, or to inflict some new penance on her despised lord, affected to believe that the Queen of Scots had seduced his affections. That the charge was utterly disregarded by the Queen of England is evident, from the confidence she continued to repose in the Earl's fidelity; and Sir William Cecil, in an official communication to Norris, says, "Poor "Lord Shrewsbury being first stricken with "palsy, is now lamentably fallen into a "phrenzy." * In reality, the Earl, who had

* See Cabala.

passed the meridian of life, was prematurely visited with the infirmities of age. By whatever motives he had been induced to accept the charge of the Queen of Scots, he was soon eager to relinquish it; but the Queen's authority compelled him to remain at his post, to the ruin of his peace, and the impoverishment of his fortune.

The Earl of Shrewsbury possessed several mansions, at no considerable distance from each other. In May, 1569, Mary was conducted to Wingfield Manor, a more eligible residence than Tutbury Castle; from whence she addressed the states of Scotland, requiring them to obtain her divorce from Bothwell, which the Regent, according to his engagements with Norfolk, was bound to enforce with all his influence. But whether he was merely passive, or positively hostile to the measure, the petition was contemptuously rejected *, in

* In this mandate it is remarkable, that Mary mentions several impediments to her marriage with

spite of the efforts of Maitland, and the Queen's partizans; nor was this the only disappointment that awaited Mary. The Duke of Chatelherault having temporized, Lord Herries was compelled to disarm, whilst the Earls of Argyle and Huntly listened to overtures of accommodation; and, finally, Maitland, whom the Regent found no longer indispensable, was arrested on the charge of having been accessary to the late King's murder; but he was rescued from imprisonment by the brave Kirkaldy, who desired that the accusation might be extended to Archibald Douglas and the Earl of Morton. *

In the meanwhile, a sentimental correspondence had commenced between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, and, by the

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Bothwell, neither known nor suspected, and, among others, certain degrees of affinity. See an extract from the original at the end of the volume.

* Both of whom were concerned in the conspiracy for Darnley's murder.

agency of Lesley, the proposed marriage was submitted to the French and Spanish ambassadors, who procured the sanction of their respective sovereigns. By the treachery of Murray, the intrigue had been already whispered to those who possessed Elizabeth's confidence, and by himself was afterwards fully divulged to Cecil, to whom Norfolk poured forth his complaints of Murray's perfidy and ambition; insinuating that his real object was the possession of his sister's kingdom. *

Originally, Mary had made her acceptance of Norfolk † dependent on Elizabeth's approbation. The sanction of Spain and France induced her to think more seriously of the alliance; and, as a proof of the deference she felt for his judgment, she rejected, by his advice, a liberal offer

* See Haynes's State Papers, page 22.

† In Hardwicke's state papers, are to be found some of Mary's letters to Norfolk, evidently dictated by the almost forlorn hope of regaining her liberty.

Leonard Dacres to effect her escape, and conduct her to any country in Europe. The opposition of the Duke to this suggestion is ascribed by Lesley to ambitious jealousy of some foreign rival, but was obviously dictated by the fear of alarming Elizabeth's suspicions; since, during the rebellion of the North*, he withdrew to his paternal mansion, instead of attempting to liberate Mary, or to protect her from the rigours to which she was subjected by the English government. In the sequel, when he discovered that his correspondence with the captive Queen was betrayed to his sovereign, he affected to renounce his matrimonial speculations, and solemnly promised never to renew them without Elizabeth's concurrence.

* The rebellion of the North broke out in 1569, headed by the Catholic Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, of whom one fled to Holland, the other to Scotland; but was afterwards basely surrendered by the Regent Morton to Elizabeth, and executed for treason.

Too wary to trust to his professions, the Queen caused him to be committed, for his misdemeanor, to the Tower, where he remained during a second insurrection of Catholic malecontents; which, though sufficiently explained by the intolerant system maintained against them, was attributed to the insidious influence of Mary Stuart. Sensible of the perils to which she exposed herself, by keeping in captivity a Princess, to whom the oppressed papists must naturally look for deliverance, Elizabeth had almost determined to surrender Mary to the Regent Murray, when the spirited remonstrance of Lesley, and his mediation with the foreign ambassadors, suspended her purpose. The Regent revenged his disappointment on Lesley, by accusing him of having excited the late commotions; for which he was committed to the custody of the Bishop of London. Whether the negociation for the surrender of Mary would have been renewed, must

be left to conjecture; since, to the unutterable grief of Knox, Murray was cut off in his prosperous career by the hands of an obscure assassin. * The character of Murray, like that of Mary, has been differently pourtrayed by party writers; and he is alternately represented as the best, or the vilest of men. That he was enterprizing and ambitious, capable of deep dissimulation, and not untinctured with hypocrisy, is evident from his general conduct. But, that he was true to his party cannot be denied; and that, next to himself, he loved his country, must be admitted, by his inveterate foes. In private life, he rather commanded respect than inspired affection. His treatment of Mary, of Maitland, and of Norfolk, bespoke a heart callous to sentiments of gratitude, honour, or friendship. His

* The perpetrator of this crime was one Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, who, in revenge for an injury his his wife had received from one of Murray's followers, shot him at Linlithgow.

administration was, however, tempered with clemency; and he died at a moment when his loss seemed irreparable to his distracted country.

During the insurrections in England, Mary was removed from Tutbury to Coventry, placed under the Earl of Huntingdon, watched night and day, and treated with the utmost rigour. On the restoration of public tranquillity she was re-established at Tutbury, where she received from Maitland the most exhilarating accounts of the progress of her party in Scotland. The first step taken by this able statesman, was to obtain, with Morton's assistance, an assize to clear him from the charge of having connived in Darnley's murder; his next was to form, in conjunction with Kirkaldy, a confederacy in Mary's favour, by which he alienated Morton, and alarmed Cecil. During three months, Elizabeth hesitated between her jealousy of Mary and her prejudices against the Rebels;

yet, whilst she professed neutrality, sent Lennox to be elected Regent, and dispatched Cecil, lately created Lord Burleigh, to treat with the Queen of Scots, for her restoration to her kingdom; but on such terms as it was easy to foresee, would never be sanctioned by the states of Scotland.*

Mary was then at Chatsworth, where she awaited with patience the issue of the negociation; unfortunately, she had solicited assistance from the Pope, and the King of

* In the foreground of this treaty, stood the ratification of the never-to-be-forgotten treaty of Edinburgh; and among other stipulations it was exacted, that the young King should be educated in England. By the following passage from one of Cecil's letters, it appears that he was little pleased with his commission.

"I am thrown into a maze at this time that I know "not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mild- "may and I are sent to the Scottish Queen, as by "the Queen's Majesty's letters you may see: God be "our guide, for neither of us like the message!"—Cabala.

Spain, who, under the pretext of redeeming her from captivity, put in motion a variety of plots and conspiracies to annoy the government. By the agency of the fanatical Felton, a bull of excommunication, pronounced against Elizabeth, by Pius the Fifth, was affixed to the walls of Lambeth Palace, and through the medium of Ridolpho, a Florentine merchant, a scheme was formed for restoring the Catholic religion, and deposing the protestant Queen. Despairing of liberty by other means, Mary at length recommended Ridolpho to Norfolk, who, with an inconsiderate rashness, often to be found in pusillanimous characters, embraced the desperate expedient of corresponding with a notorious spy; suffered himself to be involved in a treasonable negociation with the enemies of Elizabeth; and finally expiated his frailty and his ambition on the scaffold. *

* It was proposed by Ridolpho, that the Spaniards should invade England with ten thousand; but whilst

Nor was the death of Norfolk the only evil that resulted to Mary from Ridolpho's intrigues. Against herself, as the object, if not the author of the conspiracy, the indignation of the Protestants was generally excited. Both houses of parliament preferred a bill of attainder against Mary Stuart; and Elizabeth, by rejecting their petition, not only wiped off much of the odium she had originally incurred by her detention of the Scottish Queen, but acquired the praise of clemency and magnanimity, and ever after boasted of her forbearance in leaving life to her whom she had irreparably injured. To aggravate Mary's chagrins, the Bishop of Ross, who had been committed to the Tower, was liberated only to be proscribed; and

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he was in Flanders, negociating the affair with the Duke of Aloa, an account of the conspiracy was transmitted to Elizabeth. Copies of his letters being found in the Duke of Norfolk's possession, that nobleman was arraigned.

Charles the Ninth, piqued by her clandestine application to the Court of Spain, abandoned her cause. In Scotland, her prospects were not more cheering.

By the influence of Cecil, Lennox had been declared Regent; but, destitute of talents or prudence, signalized his administration by cruelty and meanness, rashly sacrificed to his hereditary abhorrence of the house of Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, (who was executed for participation in Darnley's murder,) and finally, like his predecessor, Murray, was in a few months assassinated. The Earl of Mar, who succeeded to his perilous office, was of a different spirit, and sighed to give peace to his afflicted country; but in that virtuous aim he was fatally counteracted by the Earl of Morton, who, on his death, became sole Regent of Scotland. Against that able, though unprincipled chief, neither the genius of Lethington, nor the invincible spirit of

Kirkaldy availed to sustain Mary's sinking cause. The Castle of Edinburgh alone remained to her party; even that fortress was at length yielded to the English Commander. Kirkaldy, Maitland, and his brother, being included in the prisoners of war who trusted to the honour and demanded the protection of England, but whom a base and discreditable policy betrayed to the Scottish Regent. The brave Laird of Grange perished by the hands of the executioner; an ignominy that Maitland escaped by a premature and suspicious death, which was generally attributed to poison. All Scotland was now reduced to the King's government, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, in communicating to Mary the capitulation of Edinburgh, was unfeeling enough to expatiate on the generous attachment which his sovereign evinced for the interests of her infant son. "How," cried the captive Queen, "can you expect "I shall thank her for depriving me of my

"only friends? Henceforth, I will neither "speak nor hear of Scotland."* In spite of her resolution, the Earl perceived, *that the news nipped her sore*, and that she often sunk into a profound melancholy, from which she was roused only, to give vent to indignant complaints, or inventive suspicions, intermingled with menaces, which proved that the spirit of Mary Stuart was still unsubdued. In her gloomy moments, she was accustomed to impeach the integrity of her agents in France, not excepting her uncle, Cardinal Lorrain, with whose rapacity she was but too well acquainted. At other times, she boasted of her foreign friends and connections, and openly avowed her resolution, never to desist from the attempt to recover her liberty.†

* See in Chalmers' Life of Mary, an extract from Shrewsbury's letter, page 369.

† Being once reminded by Shrewsbury that she was suspected of spending her money in fomenting

Within three years she found herself the survivor of those individuals, whether friendly or inimical, who had most powerfully influenced her destiny; —the specious Murray, the restless Lennox, the intriguing Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the inflexible Knox, the most honourable of her foes, whose prejudices were sanctified by magnanimous integrity. After these came the misguided Norfolk, equally unseasonable in his caution and his temerity. The gallant Kirkaldy followed, but of all most lamented and irreparable, was the sagacious Maitland. In contemplating the fine talents and amiable sympathies of this eloquent statesman, it is impossible not to lament that he belonged not to another and a better age. From his father, Sir Richard Maitland, who was in his day a

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dissensions in England, she exclaimed, "Never let "them fear; for every penny I can get, goes to "Scotland to support my party." —Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii.

poet of considerable eminence, he had caught a certain elegance and liberality of mind, rarely discovered among his Scottish contemporaries.* Married in early life, he was a widower when he became enamoured of Mary Fleming, with whom he enjoyed a short-lived season of domestic felicity. After Murray's death, he saw his family involved in his misfortunes; not even his aged father was spared by the vindictive Lennox or the rapacious Morton, who thus repaid the services they had received from his accomplished son. Amidst such complicated calamities, the spirits of Maitland sunk; his strength failed, his hopes and even his energies were exhausted. At the invectives of Knox he might have smiled, to the satires of Buchanan† he could have replied with more elegant raillery, but he was unable to endure the sting of self-reproach; and

* Chalmers.

† Buchanan satirized him in his Chameleon.

whether he died by poison or the slow disease of grief, it is equally true that he became the victim of faithless friends and pernicious counsels. It is remarkable that shortly after Maitland, died Cardinal Lorrain, the primary author of Mary's errors and misfortunes, who had first stimulated her ambition, and whose lessons were never to be effaced from remembrance.

In the absence of all those splendid scenes to which she had from infancy been accustomed, Mary had no other solace than the few domestic attendants who for her sake sacrificed the pursuits of pleasure and of fortune; even of these, the number was, from various causes, quickly diminished. But her French secretary, Roulet, was the first loss she sustained by death; and this mournful event, which in happier circumstances might have awakened but a transient emotion, produced within the walls of Sheffield Castle a deep and indelible impression. Every day, every hour, increased

the gloom and hopelessness of her captivity. In the earlier part of her residence with Lord Shrewsbury, she had occasionally conversed with such persons of rank as visited the family*; but by the jealousy of Elizabeth and her ministers, she was now excluded from all social communication with strangers; and nothing remained to break the death-like stillness of her solitude but the petty intrigues of Lady Shrewsbury, the murmurs of her own domestics, the embarrassments of her guardian in procuring subsistence for so large a household, the whispers of suspicion, and increasing indications of hostility. †

From the epoch of Morton's election to

* By one of these, Nicholas White, she is described as a goodly personage, though not comparable to the English Queen, with an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, a piercing wit clouded with mildness.

† Mary's table was still served with sixteen dishes to each course, and her household consumed a large quantity of wine. — See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii.

the regency, in 1573, every rational hope vanished of Mary's restoration in Scotland; and to this conviction she was probably indebted for the indulgence of visiting Buxton: she even carried on a friendly commerce of letters and presents with Elizabeth, to whom she transmitted several elegant pieces of her work, and received in return a profusion of compliments. But in 1577 Mary was apprised of a circumstance calculated to rouse her from inactivity; such was the death of Bothwell, who was believed to have left a testament or confession, in which he exonerated the Queen from all participation in Darnley's murder. Copies of this testament were said to have been transmitted both to Scotland and England, by whose respective governments Mary naturally suspected that the document had been suppressed. In the fulness of her heart, she wrote to her faithful friend the Archbishop of Glasgow*, by whose

* See Keith, Appendix, p. 142.

agency she procured a copy of an attestation attributed to Bothwell, containing, (as was pretended,) a declaration made previous to his death, and which solemnly maintained her innocence. Of such a document the genuineness appeared suspicious, and it has been generally considered since a forgery. But the earnestness which Mary evinced on this subject, the confidence with which she anticipated a honourable result to the enquiry, affords at least a presumption of her innocence, perhaps more satisfactory than any declaration which could have been made in her favour by such a miscreant as Bothwell.*

The death of Bothwell was followed by that of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, who, in the pedantic language of the

* If Bothwell died in a state of derangement, he must at that time have been incapable of making the declaration attributed to him. The period when his malady commenced is not known. In 1569, Lord Boyd procured his consent to the divorce demanded by Mary.

age, is said to have yielded, in 1578, to the co-acting laws of contraries. *

* Extract from Johnson's History of the Minority of King James.

" This year Margaret Douglas yielded herself to the " co-acting laws of contraries; a woman of a princely " majesty, in the 63d year of her age, descended from " Henry the Seventh. For Margaret, his elder " daughter, was assigned the imperial crown of Great " Britain, and by the applause of the nobles betroth- " ed to James the Fourth, of whom sprung James the " Fifth. After the candle of James the Fourth's life " was extinct, Margaret, who was his espoused, took " to husband Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, the " flower of the Scotch nobility, by whom she had Mar- " garet Douglas, at Harbottle, in Northumberland. " This most zealous and thrice-noble lady had the " chequers of good and bad fortune, which posterity " will memorize or external lineaments and internal or- " naments egregious; her descent was regal; the fruit " of her womb and their numerosity was no less, while " King Edward wore the crown with honour. But " novercaling fortune, lest this lady should be ob- " livious of mortality, overshadowed her fair heaven of " prosperity with many inconveniences of human " frailty. She was supervisor to eight of her children; " thrice imprisoned for affecting loves, not for any " crime against the crown or state."

Amidst the vicissitudes of this lady's life, ambition appears to have constantly predominated in her character; and unfortunate as had been the result of her matrimonial speculations, she ventured (in 1574) to coalesce with Lady Shrewsbury in forming an union between her son, Charles Stuart, and that lady's daughter, Elizabeth Cavendish. By this alliance, Elizabeth, as was naturally to be expected, became alarmed; and not only the two countesses, but the unfortunate Mary Stuart, whose interests were in some degree compromised by the connection, incurred suspicion and reproach. Towards the close of her life, Lady Lennox was reconciled to the Queen of Scots; a circumstance calculated to strengthen the persuasion of Mary's innocence. In defiance of the English government, the indefatigable Bishop of Ross had published various tracts in her vindication; and his spirited defence of Queen Mary's honour, though suppressed in England, ap-

peared at Brussels, and circulated on the continent.

The eloquence of Lesley was enforced by the execution or attainder of those men who had been foremost in accusing their sovereign of a crime manifestly committed at their instigation, or with their connivance. To the majority of the Protestant party, however, those suggestions were addressed in vain. They insisted vehemently on Mary's guilt, because they desired to exclude from the crown of England a Catholic Princess connected with the authors and protectors of the league for extirpating evangelical principles. Nothing but the terrors inseparable from an age of oppression and persecution could reconcile with the common sympathies of humanity the rancour with which Theodore Beza*, besought Elizabeth to destroy Mary Stuart, that false *Medea*,

* See the Reveil au Matin, published in 1574.

only less criminal than Catharine de Medicis, who, if permitted to live, would inevitably prove fatal to the people of God. In the language of Scripture, the Protestant Queen was admonished, by the example of Saul, to destroy idolators. For the commonweal of England, she was required to sacrifice the love of clemency to the sense of justice. In the name of honour, piety, and humanity, she was conjured to devote to the common executioner the Queen of Scots, lest, by a false and mistaken mercy, she should prepare destruction and misery for a suffering people. To account for this extravagance, it should be recollected that, in the sixteenth century, liberty was but a name, connected with the classical images of Greece and Rome; not a single spot could be discovered that secured to man the blessings of civil and religious freedom. In the Netherlands, although those struggles had begun which formed the school of patriots,

of statesmen, and heroes, the conflict was unequal, the issue uncertain; not even the little state of Holland was yet reclaimed from the overwhelming flood of despotism and oppression, nor had America become the sanctuary of Europe; for the Catholic who upheld, or the Protestant who resisted the prescriptive authority of papal Rome, the same iron laws of necessity existed; and however they might dissent in tenets of faith, they sympathised in party feelings, and assimilated in those darker features which tyranny had imprinted on the human character, and which were only to be effaced by the mild and ameliorating influences of a happier system. That love of justice, humanity, and truth, which is the birthright of freemen, belongs neither to the tyrant nor the slave. Cruelty is naturally allied to suspicion; and when we reflect on the vestiges of feudal barbarism and violence, which deformed society in the sixteenth century, we

shall cease to wonder that the champions of Protestantism demanded the sacrifice of a feeble woman, with as much energy as in the nineteenth, the friends of humanity have implored the abolition of African slavery.

In general, it is the effect of long-protracted sufferings to blunt the native sensibilities of the temper; but in Mary's soul time appeared to produce little change. Though the sceptre had been wrested from her hands, the passions of royalty were enthroned in her breast. Born to be a sovereign, she could not divest herself of those impressions which she had received with her first consciousness of existence, she ceased not to cherish the persuasion that she belonged to a privileged order of beings, and gloried in proclaiming that she was not subject to ordinary laws, or amenable to any human tribunal.

Driven from her realm, disclaimed by her subjects, it was her pride to repeat that she

would live and die as became a queen—the anointed queen of the Scots. Nor can it be doubted, that, amidst all her privations, she extracted consolation from the reflection that she was presumptive heir to the crown of England. To the faith in which she had been educated, Mary naturally attached herself with increasing ardour and tenacity. On her first arrival in England, she had from policy communicated with a chaplain of the established church, and expressed complacency and respect for the Anglican system. But such constraint as in happier moments might be endured, after a series of afflictions, became insupportable. In England, as in Scotland, she saw the worship of her ancestors disgraced. There were times when no Catholic priest was allowed to approach her presence, to administer to her those sacred consolations for which she often sighed with an earnestness only to be conceived by those who have been, like her, consigned to hopeless cap-

tivity. Touched by her situation, Pope Gregory XIII., like his predecessor, expressed for her an attachment which, whilst it called forth her warmest gratitude, probably increased her regrets for having done so little to promote what she conceived to be the common cause of Christendom; nor can it be doubted that in Mary's future plans of life was included a resolution zealously to uphold the Catholic faith, and to suffer for its sake with heroical constancy.

But it required all her efforts to resist the dreariness that surrounded her prison. Separated from the female friends who had at first softened her captivity*, she was deprived of all congenial society, and had no other solace for solitude than books often reperused, or the embroidery, which, when her health became impaired, she was compelled to relinquish. From her former amusements she was restricted; neither

* See her pathetic complaints, in Labourer's Additions to Castelnau.

hunting nor hawking was often allowed, even to ride for air and exercise was sometimes prohibited. Whatever spot she approached was rendered solitary; whatever mansion she inhabited assumed the aspect of a prison; none ventured to approach the gates without permission, none departed without search.* The most ordinary concerns of life furnished matter for discussion and jealousy. That in such a situation Mary should rarely have exercised her native talent for poetry is not surprising. By unceasing irritation, the elasticity of the soul is destroyed: political intrigues repel the influence of the imagination. Even her lute was here discarded; she had no resources but in her own mind; and little to occupy it, besides visionary speculations, self-tormenting suspicions, fantastic hopes, and corroding resentments. In the charac-

* See the Regulations in Sir Ralph Saddler's State Papers, and Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. ii.

ter and future conduct of her son, she had, however, a legitimate object for her solicitude and sympathy; and it was with intense interest she listened to the tales which were sometimes transmitted of his promising talents and affectionate disposition. From the regent Morton, and his tutor Buchanan, she well knew he would be taught to consider her as the vilest of women. But Mary trusted to the impulse of nature to counteract those impressions, and allowed her imagination to dwell on the filial piety of a child to whom she had never been known, and to whom she was destined for ever to remain a stranger.

The removal of Morton from the regency in 1580 revived her hopes of emancipation; and conceiving that the revolution in Scottish affairs had been produced by the agency of Ermo Stuart, Duke of Lenox, (descended from the Duke of Albany,) who had been educated in France, she began to entertain a chimerical expectation that her son might

be reclaimed to the Catholic faith, and having constituted the Duke of Guise her lieutenant, indirectly authorised him to treat in her behalf with the young King of Scotland. The interception of this document alarmed the vigilance of the English cabinet, and the dissatisfaction was increased by the execution of Morton, who, in 1581, was tried and convicted, on no very conclusive evidence*, for having been *arte* and *parte* in Darnley's murder: even by himself, the justice of his sentence was however admitted by a voluntary confession, in which he stated, that, previous to his restoration, Maitland and Bothwell had visited him at Whittingham, where the former proposed to him to destroy Darnley, as an enemy to the

* By the curious letter from Sir John Forster, published in Chalmers' Life of Mary, (vol. ii. page 97. 4to. edition,) it appears, that the declaration and testament of Bothwell was produced at Morton's trial, and admitted as evidence against him, which proves either that the document was genuine, or that the most barefaced forgeries were with impunity obtruded on the public.

commonwealth; that at first he (Morton) had declined the overture, unless the transaction should be with the Queen's consent. That his pardon having been obtained on his return to Scotland, the subject was renewed; that he persisted in his scruples, challenging Bothwell to produce some written testimonial from the Queen's hand that she approved the deed; that this pledge was never given, although Bothwell protested she sanctioned the measure; finally, that, though privy to the design, he did not actually aid in the enterprise, in which he had before stated Maitland to have taken an efficient part.*

* See Moyse's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland.—From this concession of Morton's, Mr. Chalmers infers that Bothwell could never have received from the Queen the letters attributed to her pen by Buchanan. In Morton's confession there appears to have been much mental reservation, as, if not personally assisting at Darnley's murder himself, his kinsman, Archibald Douglas, was present on that memorable occasion; and he was notoriously the manager of Bothwell's trial, though he declined being on the jury.

In whatever anticipations Mary indulged after Morton's death, they were soon damped by the conspiracy of Ruthven, and the other malcontent Lords, and her son's detention in their custody. On these tidings, believing that James, like herself, was devoted to destruction, she for the first time yielded to despondence; grief aggravated her maladies, and for a few days her dissolution seemed inevitable; but suddenly recovering from this dejection, she addressed to Elizabeth a letter dictated by maternal feelings, which contained a brief but elegant narrative of her sufferings. *

In a few months the young King regained his liberty, when Mary flattered herself, that, by the intervention of the French court, a treaty was at length about to be concluded for her titular association with her son in

* This celebrated letter (written in 1582) has been often published; it was abridged in Camden, but has been given entire in Whitaker's Vindication, and in Mr. Chalmers's Life of Mary Queen of Scots.

the government of Scotland. She disclaimed all intention to deprive him of the sovereign authority; but insisted, that his present claims were founded on injustice and usurpation, and earnestly desired that he should surrender to her the crown, only to receive it from her hands as a mark of respect, and that he recognised her maternal prerogatives. At this crisis, by the recommendation of Mauvisiere, Mary entered into a correspondence with the notorious Archibald Douglas, who had taken refuge in France, and, not daring to return to Scotland, was eager to regain her friendship. Mary signified her readiness to accept his overture, provided he could clear himself from participation in Darnley's murder. This answer drew from Douglas a circumstantial account of the conference between Morton and Bothwell at Whittingham*, when

* In the letter to Mary, published in Robertson's Appendix, Archibald Douglas confirms Morton's avowal of the conference at Whittingham between

Darnley's death was projected; which, if it does not exonerate Mary, at least criminates many of her accusers.

From this correspondence she derived little or no advantage, and still less from her commerce with France, in order to establish her claims in Scotland. To the scheme of association, James and his counsellors were wholly averse; his rejection of the proposition appears to have inflicted on his mother a deeper wound than she had hitherto experienced, and in the bitterness of her soul she wrote to Mauvisiere, to entreat

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that Earl, Maitland, and Bothwell, to concert Darnley's death; and that a band was formed by several nobles to that effect. He affirms, also, that Maitland afterwards declared, the Queen refused to sanction the measure; yet, though he was confessedly employed in the negociation, he pretends to Mary that he did not aid in the enterprise. But it should be recollected, that his own servant, John Binning, who was executed for the crime, deposed to his master's having been in the kirk field on the night of Darnley's murder; and that, in the hurry of quitting the garden, he had left one of his pantoufles or slippers behind him.

that the king of France would, *for her sake*, resent the undutiful behaviour of James, by ceasing to acknowledge him as a sovereign. To Elizabeth she wrote also in the same strain, protesting, that if he persisted in those unnatural sentiments, she would disinherit him, and transfer her claims to some more worthy object.

" You may recollect, madam, that it " pleased you to intimate to me, you " had never acknowledged my son to be " King until I had myself voluntarily con- " ferred on him that title, which I did, " however, on condition that he consented " to the association proposed, and that he " should allow he had no legitimate right " to the crown but through my means; " nor would it be a little prejudicial to the " princes of Christendom, and among others " to yourself, (whatever your counsellors " may pretend to the contrary,) if it should " once be established as a principle, that it " is lawful to depose and elect kings: be

" not therefore, I beseech you, the advo-
" cate and protectress of violence and
" usurpation; lend not the sanction of your
" name to such enormous impiety, such
" violation of all rights, human and divine.
" It sometimes happens, that brothers and
" other near kinsmen have been seduced
" from their relative duties by the rage
" for dominion; but, alas! what can be so
" abhorrent to God and man, as for an
" only child, to whom every thing is freely
" offered, to despoil his own mother of her
" state and crown, without even the excuse
" of being incited to it by ambition; for
" all that I demand is, that he shall pay
" honour to myself, and discharge his own
" conscience, without ever wishing to set
" foot in Scotland. For the love of God,
" madam, you, who are his godmother, to
" whose care I once bequeathed him, when
" I believed I was about to die *, as I

* Mary alludes to her dangerous illness at Jedburgh, when she recommended her son to the guardianship of Elizabeth.

" should yet do at the hour of death, — " consider with your natural sense of jus- " tice and prudence, what good, what " honour can result from such counsels, " as I too well know are instilled into " your mind, — that of coalescing with my " son, and upholding him in his ingratitude " and contempt."

After reiterating the menace of disinheritance, she continues, " be assured, no ap- " prehensions of danger, no presages of " death, shall ever induce me to take one " step, to utter a single word inconsistent " with these professions; far rather would " I die, such as it pleased Heaven I should " be born, than pusillanimously prolong my " life by any concessions unjust to myself, " or unworthy of my race." *

On another occasion, Mary, with increasing tenacity of her rights, desired her son might be reminded that he owed

* Laboureur's Additions à Castelnau.

every thing to her, since he derived from his father but a small patrimony. Yet the vehemence of her resentment prevented not her supplying him with money from the revenues of her dower; and she afterwards stated to Sir Ralph Sadler, that knowing his poverty, she had actually furnished him with large sums for his favourites and his pleasures. In her miserable captivity, Mary was naturally impelled to brood on the ingratitude and infidelity she had experienced. Religious impressions conspired to strengthen those temporary feelings of alienation towards her son; and there were perhaps moments when she was persuaded that she ought to prefer the honour of the Apostolic church to the interests of an heretical child.* Amidst her various chagrins, she had, however, the satisfaction of obtaining through the agency

* See two very spirited letters of Mary on this subject, in Laboureur's Additions à Castelnau. See also Chalmers' and Lodge's Illustrations of British History.

of the French ambassador, an attested disavowal of the slanders which Lady Shrewsbury and her sons had maliciously propagated against her reputation; through the same medium she communicated other grievances, originating in the parsimony of the English government. * During the last four years her establishment had been repeatedly reduced; she was without the society of any lady of suitable rank, and in vain solicited permission to receive Lady Athol, who had voluntarily offered to solace her captivity. Mary had been fifteen years in the custody of Lord Shrewsbury, a charge which he filled to the serious injury of his fortune, and from which he was

* From a letter in Lodge's Illustrations, it appears, that though the provisions were often not eatable, Mary's table was still furnished with sixteen dishes to each course, that the principal officers of the household had ten, and her ladies eight covers. They drank wine in abundance, and Mary had sometimes baths of wine for pain or tumor in her side, to which she had been long subject.

importunate to obtain his dismission, but it was not easy to meet with another nobleman equally faithful, to supply his place. At length, the aged Sir Ralph Sadler, aided by his son-in-law Mr. Somers, consented to undertake the trust till a permanent guardian should be provided. On arriving at Wingfield, to which the Queen had been removed from Sheffield, the venerable statesman was struck with the change which time and suffering had produced in her appearance, and he ventured to express the belief, that as she was incapacitated by lameness and debility for exertion, there was little danger of her escaping from captivity. In spite of these representations, he was required to conduct her to Tutbury Castle, a residence for which Mary had ever entertained an insuperable repugnance; yet however unwilling she might be to commence this journey, she performed it with cheerful resignation. During her progress to Derby, she was attended by some of the

neighbouring gentry, with whose deportment she expressed herself much gratified; and on being lodged in that town for the night, completely captivated by her manners the few females who were allowed to approach her. The next day, in a conversation with Mr. Somers, she protested, that if she could even regain her liberty, she would not live in Scotland, where she had been so ill used, but only give good advice to her son, and then retire to France; and she added, that she would rather die in prison with honour, than flee with shame. There were, however, moments when the fear of death seemed predominant. Previous to leaving Wingfield, she had subscribed the bond of association, which, in consequence of the alarm created by various rumours of conspiracy, had been formed for the protection of Elizabeth, and she now enquired in what manner her signature had been accepted, with an emotion that betrayed her solicitude to prolong existence.

In Tutbury Castle, however cold and comfortless, she was treated with kindness by Sadler, who twice permitted her to hawk on the banks of the Dove, an indulgence she knew how to appreciate; but such solace she enjoyed not long. Sir Ralph being superseded in his charge by Sir Amias Paulet, a puritan, the least humane of Mary's gaolers, who gave a foretaste of his government, by banishing from her presence-chamber the royal canopy, embossed with the arms of Scotland and Lorraine, a symbol of dignity in her eyes most precious.*

In a letter addressed to Maouvisiere, from Tutbury, evidently dictated by anguish and despondence, Mary thus describes the complicated hardships and misery of her situation.

"Aware that your answer cannot soon "reach me, I find it necessary to renew the "memorial of my grievances respecting the

* In her private apartment a smaller canopy remained. — Chalmers.

" remittance of my dowry, the augmenta-
" tion of my attendants, and a change of
" residence, circumstances apparently tri-
" vial, and of small importance to the
" Queen, my good sister, but which I feel
" to be essential to the preservation of my
" very existence. Necessity alone could
" induce me to descend to earnest and
" reiterated supplications, the dearest price
" at which any boon can be purchased. To
" convey to you an idea of my present situ-
" ation, I am on all sides enclosed by fortified
" walls, on the summit of a hill which lies
" exposed to every wind of heaven: within
" these bounds, not unlike the wood of Vin-
" cennes, is a very old edifice, originally a
" hunting-lodge, built merely of lath and
" plaster, the plaster in many places crum-
" bling away: this edifice, detached from
" the walls about twenty feet, is sunk so
" low that the rampart of earth behind the
" wall is level with the highest part of the
" building, so that here the sun can never

" penetrate, neither does any pure air ever
" visit this habitation, on which descend
" drizzling damps and eternal fogs, to such
" excess, that not an article of furniture
" can be placed beneath the roof, but
" in four days it becomes covered with
" green mould. I leave you to judge in
" what manner such humidity must act
" upon the human frame; and, to say every
" thing in one word, the apartments are in
" general more like dungeons prepared for
" the reception of the vilest criminals, than
" suited to persons of a station far inferior
" to mine, inasmuch as I do not believe that
" there is a lord or gentleman, or even yeo-
" man in the kingdom, who would patient-
" ly endure the penance of living in so
" wretched an habitation. With regard to
" accommodation, I have for my own per-
" son but two miserable little chambers,
" so intensely cold during the night, that
" but for ramparts and entrenchments of
" tapestry and curtains, it would be impos-

"sible to prolong my existence; and of
"those who have sat up with me during
"my illness, not one has escaped malady.
"Sir Amias can testify that three of my
"women have been rendered ill by this
"severe temperature, and even my physi-
"cian declines taking charge of my health
"the ensuing winter, unless I shall be per-
"mitted to change my habitation. With
"respect to convenience, I have neither
"gallery nor cabinet, if I except two little
"pigeon holes; through which the only
"light admitted is from an aperture of
"about nine feet in circumference; for
"taking air and exercise, either on foot or
"in my chair, I have but about a quarter
"of an acre behind the stables, round which
"Somers last year planted a quickset hedge,
"a spot more proper for swine than to be
"cultivated as a garden; there is no shep-
"herd's hut but has more grace and pro-
"portion. As to riding on horseback dur-
"ing the winter, I am sure to be impeded

" by floods of water or banks of snow, nor
" is there a road in which I could go for
" one mile in my coach without putting my
" limbs in jeopardy; abstracted from these
" real and positive inconveniences, I have
" conceived for this spot an antipathy which,
" in one ill as I am, might alone claim
" some humane consideration. As it was
" here that I first began to be treated with
" rigour and indignity, I have conceived,
" from that time, this mansion to be singu-
" larly unlucky to me, and in this sinister im-
" pression I have been confirmed by the tra-
" gical catastrophe of the poor priest, of
" whom I wrote to you; who, having been
" tortured for his religion, was at length found
" hanging in front of my window.* It was
" here that I lost my good kind Rallay, who

* The Catholic alluded to, had been persecuted for his religion; when, to escape farther hardships, he hung himself in the manner described by Mary, who, on that occasion, addressed to Elizabeth an eloquent letter on the duty of allowing toleration. — See Laboureur.

" was one of the consolations of my capti-
" vity; another of my people is since dead,
" and their companions are ill: briefly, I
" can here have no comfort, and if I perish,
" must attribute my fate to suffering and
" privation. With regard to the inconveni-
" ence of removing at this season, no atten-
" tion was paid to it last year, when, whether
" I would or not, I was constrained to de-
" part, though I had for three months been
" confined to my bed, and was dragged
" hither to a house which, after having been
" uninhabited for fifteen years, was pre-
" pared in five weeks for my reception." *

By the interposition of the French court, Mary was removed to Chartley, but the number of her attendants was not augmented. Even in this state of desolation, she continued to be an object of interest to the enemies of Elizabeth, who hoped by her means to promote the object of the new Catholic League, for the extirpation of Protestantism in Europe.

* MSS. de Bethune, N° 8. b. 91. fol. 1 to 3.

In a letter from one of those fanatical emissaries engaged in a crusade against the Reformation, the Queen of Scots was earnestly importuned to accede to the holy league for the preservation of Christendom; and by her aversion to sanguinary measures, she should seem to have offended her continental allies. The zealous La Rue continues, "Much injury has been done "to your cause by the rumour that your "majesty will not agree to *employ force*. "The pope, a man of strict principles, is "severe to heretics, and bent on their ex- "termination."* To an enlightened mind, it would have been obvious that this continental coalition could only accelerate Mary's destruction; but whatever political judgment she had originally possessed was paralyzed by her tedious captivity, which not only debarred the means of improvement, but left her at the mercy of mischievous suggestions, and the impulses of

* MSS. de Bethune, No. 88.

feeling rendered morbid by disease. During the last five years, her mind had evidently been enfeebled by calamity; the less she had of hope, the more tenacious were her pretensions to dignity and importance; to other disappointments, was added the bitter conviction that her son not only disdained the proposed association with herself, but that he had willingly coalesced with her rival. She was officiously informed by one of her foreign correspondents *, that at a dinner where the young king scarcely ventured to drink his mother's health, he repeatedly pledged that of the Queen of England. Convinced that she had nothing to hope from James or Elizabeth, and even suspecting that her son meant to supplant her in the English succession, she lent herself to the chimeras of Morgan, Paget, and other zealous catholics, with whom she maintained an epistolary intercourse, and who, caring less for her safety than the advantage of their

* The priest Fontenay. See Murdin, page 535.

party, rashly embarked in plots and conspiracies against Elizabeth, by which her own security was inevitably compromised. One of these men, Morgan*, on the suspicion of having employed Parry to assassinate Elizabeth, was imprisoned in France. Lord Paget escaped; and the Earl of Arundel, a strict Catholic, who was also supposed to favor Mary's cause, had no alternative but exile. It was at this crisis, when the ascendency of the house of Guise, and the hostility of Spain, rendered Mary more than ever an object of political jealousy to the English cabinet, that she renewed with Babington, a young man of fortune, a correspondence originally commenced at the recommendation of her friend Archbishop Beaton. During the suspension of their epistolary intercourse, Babington had been seduced by the arguments of Gifford, a fanatical priest, to engage in a conspiracy for the assassination of Elizabeth; and it was

* Morgan was a Scottish refugee, and bigotted Catholic.

proposed that there should be an invasion of England by Spanish troops, whilst a simultaneous insurrection of the catholics was to open the gates of Mary's prison, and perhaps raise her to that throne to which she had so long aspired. Of this execrable plot, it may be observed, that though it threatened Elizabeth's existence, it was not favourable to Mary's restoration; who, considering in what custody she remained, was not likely to survive her rival. To redeem her liberty, however, she suggested in reply, that her rescue should be attempted, either by setting fire to the stables, or by surprising her when riding in the fields: to this was also added a passage, (which she afterwards disclaimed,) promising ample recompence to the seven conspirators engaged in the assassination of Elizabeth *; on this single sentence rested the presumption of Mary's ac-

* Both Camden and Castelnau concur in representing Mary as not having dictated the passages which she disclaimed, the genuineness of which rests on the evidence of two secretaries, never confronted with their mistress.

tual participation in the guilty enterprize. In every other respect she was passive, since the scheme had been formed without her knowledge, and without her agency was to be executed; neither could she be expected to denounce the friends who offered her the means of recovering liberty. It appears not that she entertained any sanguine expectations of success; and with such vigilance was she guarded by Paulet, that the plot had been discovered, and the conspirators actually tried and executed before she was apprized of the event. At length a messenger, who was charged with the important intelligence, arrived at Chartley just as Mary was mounting her horse for exercise: and no sooner had she left the house, than her secretaries were arrested, her cabinets broken open, and all her letters and papers conveyed to Elizabeth. On her return, perceiving that not only her papers, but even her money had been removed, she exclaimed with indignation, "They cannot

"take from me my English blood, or my "catholic religion." *

Exulting in the evidence which had been obtained from her two secretaries for the crimination of the Queen of Scots, the English ministers transmitted copies of her intercepted letters, accompanied by the depositions of the conspirators, to the court of France, where, though her misfortunes might be commiserated, her imprudence was censured by the enemies of her house, and ridiculed by Catherine de Medicis. In Scotland the intelligence excited strong emotions, but it was in vain that Courcelles, the French minister, attempted to rouse James to vigorous efforts for his mother's safety; the young king (who had just concluded a treaty with Elizabeth) replied, "that as she brewed, she must drink †," and eagerly dispatched a messenger to London, to testify his own abhorrence of the wicked conspiracy. It is, however, but fair

*. Lodge. † MSS. de Bethune.

to state, that he conceived not Mary's life to be endangered; and for any thing else, "he confessed he cared not how strictly she "was kept a prisoner," adding, in allusion to what had escaped her, in a moment of irritation, that she had not only sought to dethrone him, but menaced him with disinheritance, as he could prove by her own letters.* In the meanwhile, the King of France besought Elizabeth at least to treat Mary with the respect and commiseration due to her sex, her rank, and her misfortunes: if she were arraigned before any tribunal, he suggested that she should be allowed counsel, inasmuch as she was a stranger to the laws of England, and had lived nearly twenty years in absolute seclusion. Elizabeth was at first perplexed in what manner to conduct a criminal process against a sister queen. No less jealous than Mary of the privileges of royalty, she rejected a public trial as indecorous,

* Courcelles, No. 1513. MSS. de Bethune.—The letters alluded to are found in Laboureur.

and at length adopted the expedient of sending the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and forty peers and privy counsellors, to examine the Queen of Scots, to hear her defence, and afterwards to report the same to the star-chamber, where finally judgment was to be pronounced. Nothing could be more informal than this procedure,—more derogatory to every principle of law and justice; without either counsel or advocate, Mary was to confront the legislative and judicial power of a kingdom, in which she was at once a foreigner and a captive, a devoted victim to suspicion or to vengeance. Elizabeth too late discovered, that by her compulsory detention of a sister queen, she had in reality created to herself and the state, dangers and perplexities such as neither the navies of Spain, nor the armies of France, could have called into existence.

Previous to this arrangement, Mary had been removed to Fotheringay, where, on the 12th of October, the commissioners

presented the mandate for her trial. She objected to the prerogative the Queen assumed, of arraigning as a criminal a princess who, like herself, was an absolute sovereign; protested vehemently against such authority; but finally, with her wonted facility, was induced to confront the commissioners, in order to clear herself from the charge of having conspired with the assassins. To give to the scene an air of pomp and solemnity, the hall of the castle had been fitted up to represent a court of justice. At the upper end appeared a vacant chair of state, over which was suspended the regal canopy of England; on either side were benches, on which peers and barons sat in gradation; the judges, the barons of the exchequer, opposite to them; and in the centre, at a small table, the Queen's counsel.* After a seclusion of nineteen years, it might have been expected that on her entrance Mary should

* Camden.

betray some painful emotion; but indignation took place of every feeling, when she perceived in front of the royal chair another seat allotted to herself, over which no canopy was suspended.* The commissioners having taken their places, an examination, or rather a conference, commenced respecting her correspondence with Babington, a fact established by the depositions of the other conspirators, and the testimony of the secretaries Naue and Curle. Mary denied that she had received letters from Babington, and contended, that for what her secretaries had written, she was not responsible. Neither, she concluded, was the testimony of treacherous servants entitled to any credit. To the letters which were produced; from the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, respecting the invasion of England, she answered, "This is nothing to the matter, neither

* MSS. de Bethune. — Camden.

" does it prove that I consented to hurt, or " kill the Queen."

Amongst other things, the Lord Burleigh alleged, " that she had projected to send " her son into Spain, and to assign over " to the Spanish king whatever rights she " claimed to the English succession. Her " answer was, that she had no realm she " could give away, but yet, it was lawful " to give away her own things at pleasure." When pressed with the concurrent testimony of Naue and Curle, she repeated her former assertions, denying the reception of the letters. The Lord Treasurer observed, that she knew Morgan, who had commissioned Parry to kill the Queen, and had bestowed on him a pension. She replied, that Morgan having been ruined in her service, she was bound in honour to relieve him. " But," retorted she, " pensions have been given by England to my " sworn enemy, Patrick Gray." * On being

* Camden.

shown the contents of her letter to Lord Paget and Mendoza, soliciting foreign aid, she answered, "These things touch not the "Queen; and if strangers seek to deliver "me, it is not to be imputed to me as a "crime." On the following day, she repeated her protestations against the proceedings of the commissioners; and with her usual tenacity of royalty, lamented, "that she "should be so basely used as to have "her honour called in question before petti-"foggers and lawyers, who drew every "circumstance into consequence by their "quiddities and tricks, since anointed and "consecrated princes were not subject to "the same laws as private men."* She also reminded them, "how Elizabeth herself "had been drawn into the conspiracy of "Wyat, when she was most innocent; reli-"giously affirming, that though she wished "well to the catholic cause, she would not "have it prosper by the blood of vengeance;

* Udal.

" that she had rather play the part of Esther " than Judith." The Lord Burleigh proceeding to sum up the evidence, again insisted on Parry's commission to kill Queen Elizabeth. " You are my professed " enemy," cried she. " Rather," he answered, " the enemy of all who would " destroy the Queen, my sovereign." When pressed with having instigated the invasion of England, she denied the fact; but added, with a menacing tone, " that since she was now convinced she " had no hope from England, she was re- " solved not to reject foreign aid." She again demanded to be heard in full parliament, or before the Queen and Council, and, when she at length arose, withdrew with a cheerful countenance, and with a majesty that seemed to challenge respect. The court was immediately adjourned to the star-chamber, where, finally, sentence was pronounced against her. An act of attainder

* Camden. — Udal. — MSS. de Bethune.

followed, but it was declared, that this should not prejudice her son, the King of Scots.

When it was notorious that Mary had been condemned, James interceded for her life; but he had ill chosen his messenger, in the Master of Gray, who had previously written to the ambassador, Archibald Douglas, that the interests of all honest men required this Queen to be put out of the way; and it is even affirmed, that he secretly advised the English ministers to hasten her death. * The French King was earnest in his efforts to preserve Mary's life; and, by reiterated importunities, drew an acrimonious answer from Elizabeth, whose vengeance was roused by the discovery of a new plot against her own existence, attributed to the machinations of the French ambassador, Aubespine Chateauneuf †, a man notoriously devoted to

* Murdin, p. 569.

† The charge was repelled by the ambassador with

the house of Guise; whether the charge were real or fictitious, it furnished a plausible pretext to the enemies of the captive Queen to hasten her death.

Ignorant of these sinister intrigues, Mary addressed to Elizabeth a farewell letter, in which she renewed her protestations of innocence, disclaimed all vindictive feelings, and solicited as a last favour, that her body might be transported to France, and consigned to the same vault which contained her mother's remains. To this was added an urgent request, that she might be allowed to receive the consolations of religion in her last moments. She promised to return a jewel once given her by Elizabeth, as a token of love, and entreated permission to bequeath some memorial of

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contempt; and by Castelnau and Labourer it is considered as a fictitious conspiracy. Camden lays great stress on the pretended assassination; but the quietness with which Lord Burleigh accepted Chateauneuf's apology, forms, in reality, his best exculpation. — Camden. — MSS. de Bethune. — Rapin.

affection to her son, with her maternal benediction, of which, she adds, " he " has been deprived since you announced " to me his refusal to accede to the " association between us, a measure in " which I was compromised by pernicious " counsel: the last point I leave to your " discretion, and to the conscience of others. " I conjure you in the name of our Re- " deemer, by the ties of blood, by the me- " mory of Henry VII. our ancestor, by the " honour and dignity of that sex common to " us both, that you deny not my petition. " To conclude, I know not whether you " are aware, that in your name they have " removed the royal canopy from my apart- " ment. It has since been attributed to the " advice of your council. I bless God, that " this last cruelty, which served only to " gratify malice and to trouble my dying " moments, came not from you. God be " praised for all! If you grant these my " last prayers, allow me to receive the as-

"surance under your own hand. May the "God of mercy and truth illumine you "with his holy Spirit, and give to me grace "to die in perfect charity and forgiveness." From the moment of her condemnation, Mary is said to have been cheerful, her health improved, her spirits revived, and she seemed sustained by the persuasion that she had withstood every trial to shake her faith, and by her religious constancy obtained acceptance with Heaven. It is however possible, that as Elizabeth delayed to sign the warrant for her execution, she still doubted whether she was to die, and anticipated only a more rigorous captivity. But this illusion vanished, when, on the afternoon of the 7th of February, just as Mary had withdrawn to her inner apartment, she was informed that the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury were waiting to see her. At these tidings she cast the royal mantle over her shoulders, and hasted to receive them. Their mission was soon executed.

On being informed that she was to die

on the morrow, at ten in the morning, she replied, "The message is welcome; "yet I did not think the Queen, my "sister, would have consented to my "death." She then asked to be allowed to see her almoner, her steward, and her confessor. The last was denied by the Earl of Kent, who recommended to her the Dean of Peterborough, and when Mary declined his assistance, exclaimed, "Your life is the "death of our religion, as your death shall "be its life." The Earls having withdrawn, Mary desired that her household might be assembled for supper, and at the close of the repast pledged health to her domestics, who, each kneeling in turn, mingled tears with their wine, whilst their mistress endeavoured to comfort them, lamenting only that she could so ill requite their fidelity. After supper she devoted two hours to the ordering of her worldly affairs *, and to writing letters, one of which was to the King of

* According to Camden, she wrote her will on two sheets of paper without reading it over.

France, in which she besought him to protect Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and to recompense some of her poorer servants. She then withdrew to her oratory, where her devotions were long and fervent; she wept, but the tears she shed were no longer those of passion but devotion, and accompanied with suitable expressions of penitence, of piety, and resignation. In those sacred moments, when neither the frailty of youth, nor the vanity of ambition could be recalled without sorrow or disgust, she perhaps rejoiced in the approach of death, by which she was to be for ever delivered from the trials and temptations of human existence. That she considered her sentence as unmerited can scarcely be doubted, and whether this was merely an aberration of judgment, or that she had really been the victim of treacherous servants who imposed on her confidence, she evidently exulted in the persuasion, that she was to suffer for her constancy in the Catholic faith. On rising from her

devotions, she retired to rest; after a sound sleep, arose refreshed, and called on her attendants to attire her for the mournful solemnity. The ruling passion of Mary's soul, the pride of royalty, even in these last moments continued to operate, and she issued from her chamber clad in princely robes, a black veil descended to her feet, an ivory crucifix hung suspended from her neck, and a string of beads was appended to her girdle.* When the sheriff arrived, attended by the Earls, Kent and Shrewsbury, and Sir Amias Paulet, to conduct her to the scaffold, she courteously accepted the assistance of Paulet in descending the stairs, observing, it was the last trouble she should give him. In the gallery she was met by her steward, Melvin, who broke into pathetic lamentations, which she interrupted, telling him, he ought rather to rejoice that the trials and troubles of Mary Stuart were now at length to have an end;

* Camden.

and "bear from me," she added, "this "message to Scotland, that I die a true "woman to my religion, and like a true "woman of Scotland and France. But God "forgive them that have thirsted for my "blood as the hart doth for the water "brooks. O God! thou art truth; thou "knowest the inner chamber of my "thoughts, and that I was ever willing "that England and Scotland* should be "united together. Commend me to my son, "and tell him I have done nothing prejudi- "cial to the state or the kingdom of Scot- "land." After which, the tears trickling down her cheeks, she kissed Melvin, and bade him adieu. Then, turning to the Earls, requested some of her servants might be permitted to witness her last moments; but this being denied, Mary descended to entreaty, reminding them that their mistress, herself a maiden queen, could not withhold the boon. Perceiving that the Earls still demurred,

* Udal.

tears of indignation started to her eyes, whilst she exclaimed, " I am cousin to " your queen, am descended of the blood " royal of Henry the Seventh, Dowager " Queen of France, anointed Queen of " Scotland." The Earl of Kent no longer resisted her importunity; and she chose from her domestics Melvin, who bore up her train, her physician, and two female attendants. Before her marched the Sheriff and the Earls, while she leaned on the arm of Sir Amias Paulet. In this manner she passed from the entry into the hall of Fotheringay Castle, (the scene of her trial,) at one end of which, inclosed within a railing, was a seat, on which she sat down, and it was then observed that a little favourite shag dog had followed the procession, and now hid himself in her train.

The galleries of the hall were crowded with spectators, who could not witness, without emotion, the marks of infirmity she exhibited. Though the symmetry of her form had long been destroyed, her com-

plexion was still fine; her countenance retained all its touching sweetness of expression; and whilst the warrant for her execution was reading, she smiled with perfect composure. The Dean of Peterborough then addressed the Queen upon her religious errors; to which she replied with firmness, that her opinions were fixed and unchangeable. He persisted in reciting an English prayer, whilst the Queen and her attendants repeated in Latin their prayers from the office to the Virgin. After this, Mary prayed in English for the afflicted church, for the Queen of England, and for her son. Then, having pronounced forgiveness on the executioner, she desired her maids to bandage her eyes, and, bidding them farewell, laid her head on the block, softly repeating the words, *In Domine confido.* The fatal stroke was then given; and, in a moment, the cry of, "So perish the enemies of Queen "Elizabeth," received from the Earl of Kent a responsive amen. During this

mournful spectacle the little favourite dog, starting from the robes under which he had been concealed, sought by his caresses, to restore animation to the insensible corse; and lying down between the headless shoulders, moaned piteously as he licked the blood of his devoted mistress. Touched by this instance of brute sympathy, the executioner suffered him to keep his place; and even the Earl of Kent shewed to the poor animal an indulgence denied to the last moments of the unfortunate Mary. Two days after the dog died, as it was believed, of grief. It is worthy of remark, that the statesmen and courtiers who had discarded all faith in human attachments, honoured this trait of animal fidelity, which was mentioned in the official account transmitted to Lord Burleigh.*

The body of the deceased Queen, having been royally embalmed, was deposited in a superb coffin, and, after an interval of six

* See also in Sanderson's History of Mary and James, p. 12.

months, interred in the cathedral of Peterborough. Her domestics remained long in confinement; and, what appears extraordinary, an embargo was laid on the ports; not even the ambassadors being allowed to transmit to their respective courts their ordinary dispatches. In Edinburgh, the news of Mary's execution transpired not till three weeks after the event.* It is not easy to develope the motives for this refined policy. In this, as in every other transaction, Elizabeth had sustained her reputation as an able and vigorous politician; but she fixed an indelible stain on her honour, when she inveigled to a prison the fugitive princess, who came confiding in promises of friendship and protection; and she ill sustained her pretensions to magnanimity by devoting to the scaffold the miserable victim of her duplicity, whom oppression and misery had irritated almost to madness. The execution of Mary might be necessary to her.

* Courcelles. MSS. de Bethune.

personal security, and useful to public tranquillity; but for her detention, the original source of all those commotions, seditions, and treasons which, during eighteen years, agitated the country, — for that measure, no less cruel than pusillanimous, as unwise as unjust, neither excuse nor palliation can be offered, unless we suppose that the strong-minded Elizabeth, like the unhappy Mary, was sometimes made the dupe of crafty colluding heads, who sacrificed her fame and her peace to partial policy and sinister counsels.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

PAGE 115. CHAP. II.

THE original French of Mary's Farewell to France: —

Adieu, plaisant pays de France,
O ma patrie
La plus cherie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!
Adieu, France! adieu, mes beaux jours!
La nef qui déjoint mes amours
N'a cy de moi que la moitié;
Une parte te reste; elle est tienne;
Je la fie à ton amitié
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne.

PAGE 118. CHAP. II.

Of the poet Chatelard, mentioned by Brantome as one of the Queen's companions in this voyage, who afterwards occasioned her much vexation, the following account is extracted from Chalmers' Life of Mary: —

" When the Queen arrived from France, there

" came, in the train of Mons. d'Anville, one Cha-
" telard, a gentleman by birth, a soldier by pro-
" fession, a scholar from education, and a poet by
" choice. He returned with d'Anville to France,
" after enjoying, from the rank of his protector,
" the various amusements of Mary's court, and
" feeling the influence of Mary's manners. Chate-
" lard liked whom and what he saw well enough to
" visit those various objects again. In Novem-
" ber, 1562, he arrived, as we have seen, with
" letters from d'Anville and others, for the Queen,
" and was well received; because he was favour-
" ably recollected by every one at court, except
" by all those who delighted in promoting Ran-
" dolph's intrigues and Murray's views. If we
" might believe Knox, who constantly thinks that
" his motives may justify his means, we ought to
" be of opinion, that the Queen used such per-
" sonal freedoms with Chatelard, as to justify him
" in using similar freedoms in return. He pro-
" ceeded the full length, on the 12th of February,
" 1562-3, of concealing himself in the Queen's
" bedchamber, when she was about to retire into
" it for the night, with his sword and dagger be-
" side him. This fact being concealed from the
" Queen by her female attendants, from pruden-
" tial motives, till the morning, the Queen com-
" manded Chatelard out of her sight. The Queen,
" with a part of her train, left Edinburgh on the

" 13th, and slept at Dunfermling. On the 14th, " she proceeded to Burnt Island, where she slept. " Chatelard, notwithstanding, followed her into " Fife, and came to Burnt Island on the 14th. " And the Queen having retired into her bed- " chamber, Chatelard presented himself before " her, coming in immediately after her, to clear " himself, as he said, from the former imputation " against his conduct. Astonished at his auda- " city, ' the Queen herself was fain to cry for " ' help.' The Earl of Murray was sent for, " when the Queen, amidst her *agitations*, com- " manded her minister to put his dagger into him. " But Murray thought proper to send him to " ward; reserving this daring or infatuated mis- " creant to the due course of law, which would " lay open the whole transaction. The chancel- " lor, the justice clerk, and other counsellors, were " sent for to Edinburgh. This wretched enthusiast " was tried in a few days at St. Andrews; and on " the 22d of February was executed; ' reading " ' over, on the scaffold,' says Brantome, ' Ron- " ' sard's Hymn on Death, as the only prepara- " ' tion for the fatal stroke.' " — Quarto edition, vol. i. page .

The bitter prejudices of Knox disposed him to receive and to propagate the most absurd slanders against his sovereign. But that his invidious insinuations respecting Chatelard were disbelieved,

even by his own party, is evident, since they were not mentioned during Mary's confinement at Lochleven, when the rebel Lords, anxious to excuse their violence, at first proposed to accuse her of tyranny, and then of various illicit intrigues, but finally abandoned both charges as untenable.

PAGE 147. CHAP. III.

EXTRAIT FROM THE MENU DE LA MAISON DE LA ROYNE,

FAIT PAR MONSIEUR PINGUILLON.

MENU, DE CUISINE BOUCHE.

A Jour de Chair.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Quatre platz entrés de table.

Bouil.

Vne p^ce^ beuf roialle.
Vng hault couste mouton.
Vng chappon.

Rost.

Vng membre mouton.
Vng chappon.
Trois poulletz ou pigz.
Trois gibiers.
Deux gros.

Soupper.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Quatre platz entrés de table.

Bouil.

Vng hault couste mouton.
Vng chappon.

Rost.

Vng membre mouton.
Vng chappon.
Trois gibiers.
Trois poulletz or pigz.
Vng paste de trois poulletz ou pigz.
Deux gros et demy.

TABLE DES DAMES.

A Jour de Chair.

Disner.

Quatre platz entrés de table.
Quatre platz poutaige.

Boueil.

Deux pieces beuf.
Deux chappons.
Deux pieces mouton ou la vall.

Rost.

Deux chappons.
Deux gibiers.

Quatre poulletz ou pigz.
Vng gros.
Deux pces mouton ou la vall.

Soupper.

Quatre platz entrés de table.
Et quatre platz poutaige.

Rost.

Deux chappons.
Deux gibiers.
Quatre poulletz ou pigz.
Deux poulletz.
Vng gros et dy.
Deux pces mouton.

TABLE DES FILLES DAMOISELLES.

A Jour de Chair.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Quatre platz entrés de table.

Boueil.

Vne piece de beuf.
Vng chappon.
Vne piece mouton ou la vall.

Rost.

Vng chappon.
Vng gibier.

Deux poulletz ou pigz.
Dy gros.
Vne piece de mouton ou la vall.

Soupper.

Quatre platz entrés de table.
Et quatre platz poutaige.

Rost.

Vng chappon.
Vng gibier.
Deux poulletz ou pigz.
Vng groset dy.
Vne pce mouton ou la vall.

MENEU DE CUISINE BOUCHE.

A Jour de Poisson.

Pour la Royne.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Viii plastz rost.

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.
Viii plastz rost.

TABLE DES OFFICIERS CUISINE BOUCHE.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaiges.
Cinq plastz rost.

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.
Cinq plastz de rost.

DISTRIBUTION DE BURRE.

En lad cuisine de bouche par jor xii lbz burre.
Oeufz pour lad dame disner et soupper, xii oeufz.
Pour les officiers de lad cuisine, - - xii oeufz.
Soe toute de cuisine de bouche a jor de poisson.
Xxvi plastz rost, xxiiii oeufz.

Cuisine com. a Jour de Poisson.

TABLE DES Mes. D'HOSTEL.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Xii plastz rost.

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.
Xii plastz rost.

TABLE DES DAMES.

Disner.

Quatre platz poutaige.
Dix plastz rost.

Soupper.

Poutaiges comme au disner.
Dix plastz rost.

Et sera prins garde de diminuer lad table apres q. Madlle. de Pinguillon et fontpertuis s'en sont allées en France.

PAGE 151. CHAP. III.

The following stanzas, extracted from a poem presented to Mary, afford a sample of the didactic style in which she was addressed, even by the bards of Scotland: —

ANE NEW ZEIR GIFT,

TO THE QUENE MARY,

quhen scho come first hame, 1562.

Welcum, illustrat ladye, and oure Quene;
Welcum oure lyone, with þe Floure-de-lyce:
Welcum oure thrissil, wt þe Loranc grene;
Welcum oure rubent roiss vpoun þe ryce;
Welcum oure jem and joyfull genetryce;
Welcum oure beill of Albion to beir;
Welcum oure pleasand Princès, maist of pryce;
God gif þé grace aganis þis guid new-zeir.

This guid new zeir, we hoip, wt grace of God,
Salbe of peax, trāquillitie, and rest;
This zeir sall rycht and ressone rewle þe rod,
Quhilk sa lang seasoun has bene soir supprest;
This zeir, ferme fayt sall frelie be confest,
And all erronius questionis put areir,

To laboure þat þis lyfe amang ws lest;
God gif þé grace aganis þis guid new-zeir.

Heirfore address thé dewlie to decoir,
And rewle thy regne wt hie magnificence;
Begin at God to gar sett furth his gloir,
And of his gospell gett experiẽce;
Caus his trew kirk be had in reuerẽce;
So sall thy name and fame spred far and neir:
Now, this thy dett to do wt diligence,
God gif þé grace aganis þis guid new-zeir.

Found on þe first four vertewis cardinall,
On wisdome, iustice, force, and temperãs;
Applaud to prudent men, and principall
Of vertewis lyfe, thy wirschep till avance;
Waye iustice, equalr wout discrepance;
Strenth thy estait with steidfastnes to steir;
To temper tyne wt trew continuance,
God gife þé grace aganis þis guid new-zeir.

Cast thy consate, be counsald of þe sage,
And cleif to Christ, hes kepit þê in cure,
Attingeat now to twentye zeir of aige,
Preservand þé fra all misaventure,
Wald thow be servit, and thy quairé sure,
Still on þe commoun-weill haif é and eir;
Preiss ay to be protectrix of þe pure;
So God sall gyde thy Grace this gude new-zeir.

Gar stanche all stryiff, and stabill thy estaitis
In constance, concord, cherité, and lufe;
Be bissie now to banisch all debatis,
Betuix kirk-men and temporall men dois muse:
The pulling doun of policie reprufe,
And lat perversit prelettis leif perqueir;
To do the best, besekand God above,
To gife thé grace aganis þis guid new-zeir.

Att croce gar cry be oppin proclamatioun,
Vndir grit panis, þat nothir he nor scho,
Off hayle writ, haif ony disputatioun,
Bot letterit men, or lernit clerkis þrto;
For lymmer lawdis, and litle lassis lo,
Will argun bayt wt bischop, priest, and freir:
To dantoun þis, thow hes aneuch to do,
God gife þé grace aganis þis gude new-zeir.

After having expatiated on the profligacy of Popish priests, the author adopts a more liberal tone than was often found in the Reformers.

With mess nor matynes nowayis will I mell,
To rage þame iustlie passis my ingyne;
Thaj gyde nocht ill that governis weill þame sell,
And lehalie on lawtie layis þair lyne:
Dowtis to discus, for doctouris ar devyne,
Cunnyng in clergie to declair þame cleir:
To ordo this, the office now is thyne,
God gif þé grace aganis þis gude new-zeir.

As bèis takkis walx and honye of the floure,
So dois þe faythfull of Goddis word take frute;
As waspis ressauis of þe same bot soure.
So reprobatis Christis buke dois rebute:
Wordis, wt̄out werkis, availzeis not a cute:
To seiss thy subiectis in luf and feir,
That rycht and reasoun in thy realme may rute,
God gife þe grace aganis þis gude new-zeir.

The epistollis and evangelis now ar prechit,
But sophistrie or ceremoneis vaine;
Thy pepill, maist pairt, trewlie now ar techit,
To put away idolatrie prophaine;
Bot in sum hartis is gravit new agane,
Ane image, callit cutvatyce of geir;
Now, to expell þat idoll standis vp plane,
God gif þé grace aganis þis gude new-zeir.

For sum 'quhen' sene at sermonis seme sa hayle,
Singand Sanct *Dauidis* psalter on þair bukis,
And ar bot biblistis fairsing full þair bellie,
Bakbytand nyt̄bouris noyand þame in nwikis,
Ruging and raisand vp kirk-rentis lyke ruikis;
As werrie waspis aganis Goddis word makis weir:
Sic Christianis to kiss wt̄ chanteris kuikis,
God gifé þé grace aganis þis gude new-zeir.

Dewtie and dettis ar drevin by dowbilnes,
Auld folkis ar flemit fra zung fayth professouris,

The grittist ay, the greddiar I gess.
To plant quhair preistis and personis wer possessouris;
Teindis ar vptane be testament transgressouris;
Credence is past, off promeiss thot thaj sweir:
To punisch Papistis and reproche oppressouris,
God gif þé grace aganis þis gude new-zeir.

Pure folk ar famist wt þir fassionis new,
Thaj faill for falt þat had befoir at fouth;
Leill labouraris lamentis, and tennentis trew,
That þaj ar hurt and hareit north and south:
The heidismen hes *cor mundum* in þair mouth,
Bot nevir wt mynd to gif þe man his meir:
To quenche thir quent calamiteis so cowth,
God gif þé grace aganis þis gude new-zeir.

Protestandis takis þe freiris auld antetewme,
Reddie ressauaris bot to rander nocht;
So lairdis vpliftis mennis leifing ouir thy rewme,
And ar rycht crabit quhen thaj crave þame ocht;
Be thaj vnpayit, thy pursevandis ar socht,
To pund pure communis corne and cattell keir:
To wisy all þir wrangus workis ar wrocht,
God gif þé grace againis þis gude new-zeir.

Haull biddis nocht deill wt thingis idolatheit,
Nor quhair hypocrasie hes bene committit;
Bot kirk-mennis cursit substance semis sweit
Till land-men, wt þat leud burd-lyme are kyttit;

Giff thow persave sum sẽzeour it hes smittit,
Solist þame softlie nocht to perseveir:
Hurt not þair honor, thot thy heines wittit
Bot graciouslie forgiffe þame þis gude zeir.

Foirgifanis grant with gladnes and gude will,
Gratis till all into zor parliament;
Syne stabill statutis, steidfast to stand still,
That barrone, clerk, and burges be content.
Thy nobillis, erlis, and lordis consequent,
Treit tendir, to obtene þair hartis inteir;
That þaj may serve and be obedient,
Vnto thy Grace, aganis þis gude new-zeir.

Sen so thow sittis in saitt superlatywe,
Caus everye stait to þair vocatioun go,
Scholastik men þe scriptourris to descrywe,
And maiestratis to vse þe swerd also,
Merchandis to trafique and travell to and fro,
Mechanikis wirk, husbandis to saw and scheir;
So salbe welth and weilfaire wtout wo,
Be grace of God aganis þis guid new-zeir.

Latt all thy realme be now in reddines,
With coistlie clething to decoir thy corss;
Zung gentilmen for dansing þame address,
With courtlie ladyes culpit in consors:
Fark ferce gallandis for feild gẽmis enforss;
Enarmit knychtis at listis wt scheild and speir,
To fecht in barrowis bayt on fute and horss,
Agane þy grace gett ane guid-man þis zeir.

This zeir salbe imbassatis heir belyffe,
For mariage, frome princes, dukis, and kingis;
This zeir, win thy regioun, sall aryfe,
Rowtis of the rankest þat in Eurup ringis;
This zeir bayt blythnes and abundance bringis,
Naveis of schippis outthrò the sea to sneir,
With riches, raymentis, and all royall thingis,
Agane þy Grace get ane gude-man þis zeir.

The poem concludes with the following quaintness: —

L'ENVOY.

Prudent, maist gent, tak tent, and prent þe wordis
Intill this bill, with will thame still to face,
Quhilkis ar not skar, to bar on far fra bawrdis,
Bot leale, bot feale, may haell, avaell thy Grace;
Sen lo, thow schow þis to, now do hes place,
Receive, [and] swaif, and haif, ingraif it heir:
This now, for prow, þat þow, sweit dow, may brace,
Lang space, with grace, solace, and peace, þis zeir.

LECTORI.

Fresch, fulgent, flurist, fragrant flour, formois,
Lantern to lufe, of ladeis lamp and lot.
Cherie maist chaist, cheff charbucle and chois;
Smaill sweit smaragde, smelling but smit of smot;
Noblest nator, nurice to nurtour not,
This dull indyte, dulce, dowble, dasy deir,
Send be thy sempill servand Sanderis Scott,
Greting grit God to grant thy Grace gude zeir.

MS. fol. 90. [Alexr. Scott.]

PAGE 273. CHAP. VI.

The lands of Alloa formerly belonged to a family of the name of Baillie, and were forfeited. The King, about 1315, exchanged these lands with Lord Erskine, for the forest of Glenartney and lands adjoining, now Loch Katherine. Alloa remained in the Erskine family until 1715, when it was forfeited, with all the other possessions of the Earl of Mar. But the estate of Alloa was bought back by the friends of the family in 1722. There is still in the tower of Alloa a cradle and child's high-chair, both of oak, and carved, which were King James the Sixth's. Annapel Murray, (of the Athol family,) then Countess of Mar, was in immediate attendance on him when a child, and there is her low nursing-chair, likewise of oak, carved, and the initials of her name carved on it.

PAGE 295. CHAP. VI.

Mr. Chalmers demonstrates the falsehood of Buchanan's Journal, referred to by Cecil in his argument against the Queen of Scots, by the following extract from the Privy Seal Register:—

"Aug. 2d. 1566, — At Alloa, the King and "Queen in council, declared their purpose to hold "a Justice Ayre, at Jedburgh: but this declared "intention was prevented, till the beginning of "October.

"Oct. 7th. — Bothwell, who was the Queen's "lieutenant on the borders, went from Edinburgh, "to Liddisdale.

"8th. — Was wounded by John Elliot, of the "Park; also Birrel's diary.

"8th. — The Queen and Murray, and all her "court, went from Edinburgh, to hold a Justice "Ayre at Jedburgh.

"10th. — She held a privy council at Jedburgh. "(Privy Council Register.)

"11th. — She held another council at Jedburgh.

"15th. — She was still at Jedburgh.

"16th. — The Queen, accompanied by several "officers, went to visit her lieutenant at Hermit-"age. (Privy Seal Register.)" — Vol. I. page 109. Quarto edition.

Buchanan's Journal compared with the Records.

Journal.	*Records.*
Nov. 5th, 1566. — The Queen and Bothwell came to Kelso, and there abode two nights.	Nov. 5th, 1566. — At Jedburgh, there were present in the Privy Council, the Earls of Murray, Bothwell, Atholl, Rothes, and Orkney, with the officers of state; and several private causes were decided there, in which the Warden of the Marches, Sir Walter

Journal.	*Records.*
	Ker, was Plantiff.—Privy Council Register of that date.
Nov. 7th.—They came to Longton.	
Nov. 9th.—They came to Wedderborn.	
Nov. 10th.—They came to Coldingham, where the Lady Reres, and her company, were taken by the wolds.	Nov. 10th.—The Privy Council sat at Kelso, and decided a private complaint.
Nov. 12th.—They came to Dunbar, where they staid two nights.	

For the sequel of this curious document, the reader is referred to Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. ii. page 110. 4to edit.

Page 310. chap. vi.

That Darnley's malady was the small-pox, is demonstrated by Mr. Chalmers from several documents still extant in the paper-office; among others, a dispatch from the Earl of Bedford; another from Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick; even

the puritan Birrel, in his Diary, simply states the fact, that the King had the small-pox. Several contemporary historians attest the truth. And Laboureur, who derived his information from the veracious Castelnau, confirms the statement.

PAGE 337. CHAP. VII.

The Lady Bothwell appears not to have been ever much attached to her first husband. (See Throckmorton's letter in Keith, in which she is said to have declared she would never live with him again;) according to Gordon, of Gordonstown, she did not marry the Earl of Sutherland, till 1573; after whose death, she espoused Alexander Ogilvie, Lord Boyne; she was, says Gordon, a comely lady, judicious, of excellent memory, with an understanding above her sex; she superintended the improvements of her estate; built houses; authorised industry; and apparently was much fitter for government than Queen Mary. See Gordon's History of the House of Gordon.

PAGE 389. CHAP. VII.

The true reasons for Mary's detention appear to be unfolded in the following notes written in Cecil's hand, in which after having premised, that it was "useful and honorable for the Queen's Majesty to "intermeddle in the affairs of Scotland, more es-

" pecially since the Queen of Scots had made pre-
" tensions to her crown of England," he enumerates the dangers to be apprehended, if she should pass into France. " If France possess hir, she shall
" also serve them to revive the old league betwixt
" France and the crowne of Scotland, to the
" sworne malice of England, and at this tyme
" that shall be more perrillooss then heretofor
" when the crown of England and Burgundy wer
" knitt and confederat together agaynst France
" and Scotland: wher now England hath no leage
" of good frendship with any prince or contrie,
" but standeth alone, saving for the present, the
" accord betwixt England and Scotland bredeth
" such profit to England, as no other amity can,
" in respect of ther conjunction by dry Marcheis,
" which cannot continue longe after the Scottish
" Quene shall be at the devotion of France.

" If France shall revive her league with Scot-
" land and England have no other amity than it
" hath, England shall be more subject to danger
" than ever it was thesse three hundred yeares,
" for these causes.

First. — " Heretofore England had Calliss and
" the Merches thereof, by which it was owner of
" the narrow seas, and had opportunitie to invade
" France by land. The contrary whereof is now
" for France, for they have the commoditie, by
" Calliss, keping a few gallise ther, to impeach

"our possession of the narrow seas, and thereby "to interrupt our trade of merchandise, without "which the crowne of England cannot well "stand, as the charges of government is now in-"creased.

"Daungers, if the Scottish Quene do remayn "in England.

"If she remayne with liberty to practise with "whom she will, she shall employ hirself to in-"crease hir part, for hir intention to have the "crown of England without expectation to suc-"cede, whansoever she shall fynd hir opportunity "to sease it, and to lay hand on it, and for such "an enterprise, she shall in tyme, recover all hir "subjects in Scotland to be of hir part; for no "man can thynk but such a swete bayte would "make concord betwixt them all.

"Daungers, if she shuld return into Scotland, "to rule as she did.

"The frends of England shall all be in tyme "abassed. The French faction shall increase. "The young prince shall have but a short tyme: "and the Hamiltons being swore confederates of "France, shall be exalted; and most likely, the "Quene herself shall not have long contynu-"ance.

"England shall have contynuall jarryng uppon "the frontiers, and if any French garrison shall "be in Scotland the crown of England must in-

"crease ther charge at Barwyck, and upon all the "frontyers.

"Beside this, Ireland shall be molested with "the Scotts more than it hath bene.

"Lastly.—The state of religion shall be "changed in Scotland, which will fede no small "trooble in England, being at this present not clere "of inward swellyngs.

"If the Q. shall be returned into Scotland, "these provisions must be made.

"That all subjects of Scotland answerable for "the murder, be fyrst duly punished.

"That a sufficient devorce be made betwixt the "Quene and the Erle Bothwell.

"That she depend not upon France. That "hir marriage may be at the Quenes disposi-"tion.

"That no French garrison come into Scot-"land.

"That the peace of Leith be ratified by the "Queen and the Parliament of Scotland.

"That the Erle Murray have the principal "charge in Scotland."—*Anderson's Collections*, vol. iv.

PAGE 392, CHAP. viii.

George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was one of the richest peers in the kingdom, and possessed magnificent mansions at Sheffield, Wingfield, Tut-

bury, and Chatsworth. By his first wife, Lady Gertrude Manners, he had several children, some of whom had cause to lament his second union with the Lady St. Loe, who had thrice before entered the marriage state, and who stipulated, before she became the Earl's wife, that his son Gilbert should marry her eldest daughter, by Sir William Cavendish, and his eldest daughter espouse that young lady's brother. These preliminaries being adjusted, the nuptials of the Earl and Lady St. Loe were solemnized with suitable magnificence; whilst Gilbert and the young Cavendish were sent for education to the continent. The wife of the former inherited her mother's spirit, and in time estranged her husband from his father's affections. The Lady Shrewsbury herself could not exist without some political intrigue; she alternately flattered and calumniated Mary, and often duped Elizabeth. In 1574, she incurred her displeasure by making a match between her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish and Charles Stuart, the youngest son of Lady Lennox; but she appears to have soon regained the favour of her sovereign, who did not, however, protect her from the humiliation she deservedly incurred, by her malignant aspersions of Mary Stuart. And in 1584 we find, both from Strype (Annals, 3d vol. page 232,) and from the Correspondence of Castelnau, that the

Countess and her two sons attested before a magistrate the falsehood of those calumnious reports which, through their influence, had been widely circulated. Mary complained loudly of the injury, to the courts of France and England; and in one of her letters to Castelnau, she designates a gentleman named Topcliffe, as the original author of the calumny, adding, that formerly, when they were on good terms, both Lady Shrewsbury and herself had laughed at the absurdity. This remark agrees with a passage in Lady Shrewsbury's letter to the Earl, (in Lodge's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 167.) in which she playfully desires him to commend her to his charge and *love*.

PAGE 398. CHAP. VIII.

The following extract has been taken from the mandate transmitted by Mary to the States of Scotland, in 1569, demanding a divorce from Bothwell. The original, which had been preserved among the Kilmarnock archives, is now deposited in the Advocate's library, at Edinburgh. —

" Marie by the grace of God, Quene of Scottis
" and Dowarier of France, to all and sendrie
" quhais knowledge, this present letteris sal cum
" greting in God everlasting. Forsameikle as we
" are crediblie informed be sendrie and divers no-
" blemen of our realme, that the pretended mar-
" riage, sometime contractit and in a manner

" solemnizat, betweene us and James Erle Both-
" well, was for divers respectes unlawful, and may
" not of good conscience nor law stand betwixt us,
" (albeit it seemed otherwise to us and our coun-
" sall at that time;) considering, therefore, with
" ourselves, and thinking that the same does touch
" us, so hiechlie in honor and conscience, that it
" dailie and hourlie troubles and vexes our sprite
" quaiht through, we are moved to seeke remedy.
" For this cause we have askit counsel of the
" gretest clerks, best learned and expert doctors
" in divine and humane laws, as we could have
" in divers contries, be whom we are assuredlie
" informed and certainlie persuaded that the said
" pretendit marriage is a no ways lawful, nor can
" in any way be the causes prementioned as
" good. Not onlie because that he was before
" contractit to ane other wife, and he not lawfullie
" divorcit from hir; but also (althocht we were
" informed ther was no impediment,) yet ther
" were divers gret impediments of affinitie and
" uther ways standing betwixt us; quilhkis gif
" they had been known to us, would have made
" let and impediment to our and now being re-
" vealed to us sufficient to make us clearly under-
" stood, we may be seperat fra him be the lawis;
" for of our mind and will to ord to all thingis
" quilk is baith good and honorabil for con-
" science, relief of our trouble afflicted sprite

" B, als also for the declaration of our ain
" honour, and contentation of our estatis ane gude
" subjects of our realme; we, of our ain motive,
" free will and mind, have made, constitute, no-
" minate, &c. &c. &c."

PAGE 393. CHAP. viii.

In 1581 the Bishop of Ross published, under the name of Morgan Phillips, several pamphlets in vindication of the Queen of Scots, his defence of Queen Mary's honour, and of her title to the crown of England, in which he admitted he had chiefly borrowed the arguments from two eminent English lawyers. The Bishop was ever active and zealous in Mary's cause, and it was by his agency that the marriage was proposed between her and Norfolk. When the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland took arms, it was expected the Duke of Norfolk would by force rescue the Scottish Queen. Mary herself thought so; and she is said to have expressed disappointment, not unmixed with disgust, at his lukewarmness.

After his departure from England, the Bishop remained faithful to his unfortunate mistress, by whose recommendation he was patronized by the Pope and the King of France, yet died in a state of honourable indigence. In Lesley's spirited defence of Queen Mary's honour, may be detected

the original of all the arguments since adduced to prove, that the letters to Bothwell are fabricated.

" She denieth them, and we denie them to. " There is neither subscription of the writer, nor " superscription unto whom they were directed: " they are neither sealed nor signed; there ap- " peareth neither date wherein they were dated, " neither day nor month. There is no mention " made of the bearer, who is, as it may be sup- " posed, for any name he beareth, the man in the " moone. He was never yet known nor heard " of, that did either receive, or deliver them. For " as for him that ye surmise was the bearer of " them, and whome you have executed of late for " the said murther, he, at the time of his said " execution, tooke it upon his death, as he should " answere before God, that he never caried any " such letters, nor that the Queene was partici- " pant nor of counsayle in the cause. Think ye " that wise and expert men are ignorant, how " perilous and dangerous a matter it is, to fasten " any good proufe upon illation of letters, and " how easy it is to some men, to imitate and " counterfeit any character? The which a " knight, lately deceased in England, could so " lively and subtilely doe, that he who wrote most " crabbedly and unleageably, could hardaly dis- " cerne his owne hande writing from the knight's " counterfeiting hande.

" But who conferred these letters, I pray you, " with your Queene's owne handewriting? Dare " you to warrant them in this so perilous and " weighty a cause, to have bene so exquisitely " and so exactly vewed and conferred with all " suche dewe circumstances as the civil law doth " require, were it but a civil or a money matter.

" You wil, peradventure, answere, that there " was dew collation by you made. O perfect and " worthy collation! O meete and apt men for " suche a purpose!

" As though it is not notoriously known through- " out the worlde, that ye are her most mortal " enemies, as though these counterfeit letters were " not the underpropped postes and upholders of " your whole treachery and usurped kingdome; " as though that many in Scotlande could not ex- " presse and resemble, and counterfeit in their " writings, the Queenes very character: and " as though there were not among your selves " some singular artificer in this handy-craft, and " that hath sent letters also in her very name, as " wel into Englande, as to other places by- " sides, without either her commaundement, or " knowledge. How can I chose then, but say, " that this deede is your shamefull handy-craft, " and not her hande-writing? Yea surely, al this " is your owne fained forging, and most vile coun- " terfeiting.

"For either you must bring forth good and "apparent witnesses, to proove it her hande, or "some suche as were privie to the meaning of the "sayd letters; whiche ye neither yet have done, "nor are likely ever to doo. Or ye must graunte, "that you were privie to them yourselves with the "Queene, or at least with the said Earle, whom "ye surmise to have received these letters, or that "al this is by you maliciously driven and con-"cluded. — *Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary's "Honor*, vol. v. *of Anderson's Collections.*

No. 6.

On the 1st of August, 1367, the body of Mary was interred with royal pomp, in the Cathedral of Peterborough. The Countess of Bedford, as the representative of Elizabeth, headed the procession, followed by the greater part of the English nobility.*

The funeral sermon was preached by the Bishop of Lincoln; and preceded by a prayer, in which he called on his hearers to give thanks for the happy dissolution of Mary, Queen of Scotland, "of whose life or death," he added, "I have not much to say, because I knew not the "one, neither was present at the other." At the

* Martyre de la Royne d'Ecosse — Mort de la Reyne d'Ecosse, in Jebb.

conclusion of his discourse, the English mourners proceeded to the vault, with the Scottish attendants, who, being Catholics, had absented themselves during the service; at the door of the choir stood the Scottish women, who saluted the English ladies as they passed. After the sacred ceremony the company repaired to the palace, where a splendid repast was provided by the Bishop of Peterborough. Innumerable were the spectators of the solemnity: not even the nuptials of Mary with Francis excited more attention than did these mournful obsequies.

No. 7.

The following letter, of which the original is preserved in the Advocate's library, at Edinburgh, was written, when Mary was about twelve years of age.

Copy of a Letter from Mary, Queen of Scots, to her Mother.

" Ma Dame,

" J'ai esté bien aise d'avoir trouvé l'opportunité " si bonne de vous ecrire, comme je tien encor " en ce lieu de Meudon avec madame, ma " grandmere, ou le Roy et la Royne doivent venir " ieudi prochain au batesme de mon petit cousin. " Mon oncle, Monsr. le Cardal. m'a fait entendre " comme tous les Seigneurs de mon royaume " ont bonne volonté de vous obeir, et faire pour

" vous et pour moi ce que vous plaira leur
" commander de quoi je leur scai tres bon gre, et
" en suis bien joieuse, desirant bien fort scavoir
" de vos nouvelles, e en les attendant ie presen-
" terai mes tres humbles recommendations a
" votre bonne grace. Priant dieu vous donner,
" Madame, une sante tres heureuse, et longue vie.
" Votre tres humble et tres obeissante fille Marie.

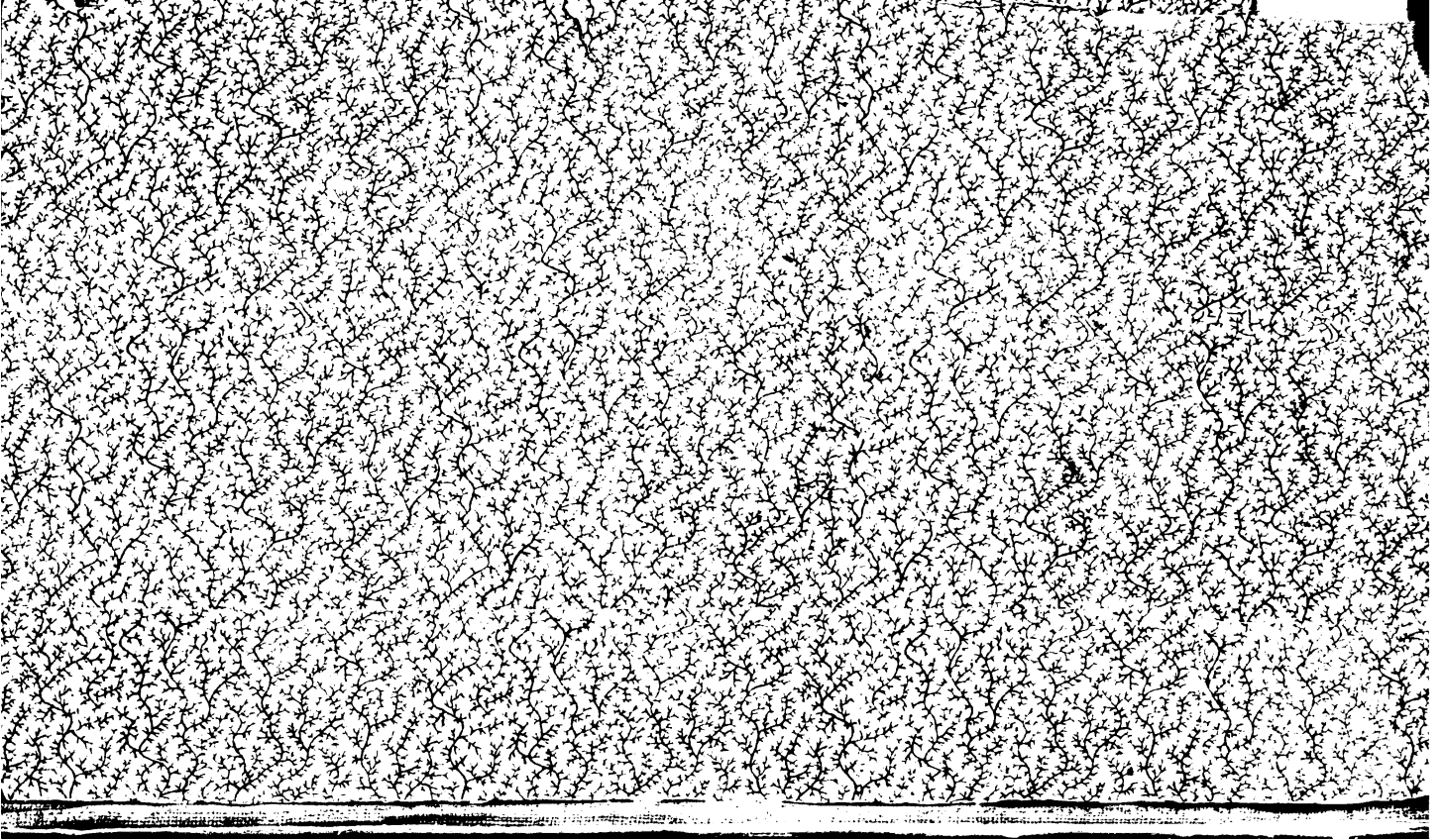
" Madame encore que

" Soit pour vous remercier."

Note. — The above is a literal copy of the old French; and shews that Mary's childhood was superintended by the austere Antoinetta, of Bourbon, and her daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Guise.

No. 8.

It is worthy of remark, that of those who had originally accompanied Mary to England, none remained to witness her execution. George Douglas, long since married to the Lady Barry, lived in prosperity, in Scotland. To William Douglas, still poor, Mary bequeathed a pension. John Seaton had died at Chatsworth, (in 1870.) See Rhode's Peak Scenery.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.